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CONTENTS

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Work of Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers Profiled [TRUD] 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Scholar Ponders Human Rights Issues, Freedoms [Myullerson in IZVESTIYA 10 Dec] 3
 Convergence Seen on Human Rights Issues [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Dec] 5
 Radio Program Examines Relations With PRC [Moscow Radio] 6
 Western Press Cited on Integrated European Market
 [Valovaya in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 50] 7
 NATO Adherence to 'Deterrence' Deplored [PRAVDA 11 Dec] 9
 U.S. Report Plays Down 'Soviet Military Threat' [TASS] 10
 Carlucci Tour of Persian Gulf Discussed [Vinogradov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Dec] 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reagan Statement on Talks With PLO Cited [TASS] 12
 Reagan Cited on U.S. Economy, Budget Deficit [TASS] 12
 Bush Welcomes Gorbachev's 'Flexibility' [TASS] 13
 U.S. Figures React to Gorbachev UN Speech [PRAVDA 14 Dec] 13
 John Tower's Chances for Pentagon Post Viewed [IZVESTIYA 14 Dec] 13

China

PRC 'Welcomes' Gorbachev's UN Initiative [Moscow International] 14
 Talks With PRC on Amur River Water Project [Moscow International] 14
 'Bright Future' Seen for Joint Space Research [Moscow Radio Peace and Progress] 15
 Automobile Manufacturing Cooperation Discussed [Moscow International] 15
 Japanese Pearl Harbor Strike, Arms Increase Noted [Mulatov on Moscow International] 15

Northeast Asia

MPR Papers Condemn Choibalsan Personality Cult [TRUD 13 Dec] 16
 Scientific Cooperation Plan Signed With Japan [Moscow International] 17

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam To Demobilize 'More Than 300,000' Troops [Moscow International] 17
 Analyst Views Soviet Policy in Asia [Yakovlev on TASS] 17

Near East & South Asia

Petrovskiy Addresses UN Debate on Palestine [TASS] 18
 Holds Talks With 'Arafat' [TASS] 19
 West Bank, Gaza Support 'Arafat Initiatives' [TASS] 20
 Al-Asad Lauds Gorbachev Speech, USSR Ties [IZVESTIYA 10 Dec] 20
 Changes in Algerian Political Scene Described [PRAVDA 13 Dec] 20
 Bessmertnykh, Kuwaiti Envoy Discuss Relations [TASS] 21

Commentary Views Shipping Facilities for Iran [Moscow International]	21
Khan's Election as Pakistani President Noted [IZVESTIYA 14 Dec]	21

West Europe

Thatcher Approval of Gorbachev Address Cited [TASS]	22
Thatcher Interviewed on Aid, Gorbachev Speech [Moscow TV]	22
Gorbachev Condolences to Thatcher on Rail Crash [PRAVDA 15 Dec]	23
Official Advocates Nuclear Cooperation With FRG [Hamburg DIE WELT 14 Dec]	23
Kapitsa Meets With Cypriot Parliamentarians [Nicosia Radio]	24

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communist Party Announces Congress [Moscow International]	24
Moscow Airs Part One [Moscow International]	25
Moscow Airs Part Two [Moscow International]	26
CPSU Greet Colombian Communists' Congress [PRAVDA 13 Dec]	28

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Minister Batalin on Armenian Reconstruction [TASS]	29
Nationalist Strife Exacerbates Armenian Problems	29
Karabakh Group Condemned [TASS]	29
Editorial Criticizes Demonstrators [Yerevan Radio]	29
Yerevan Commandant on 'Renegades' [Moscow TV]	30
Official on 'Forces of Evil' [PRAVDA 15 Dec]	30
Nationalists Claim 150 Arrested [AFP]	32
Work of Ryzhkov Commission Continues 14 Dec	32
Ryzhkov Meets Catholicos Vazgen [TASS]	32
More on Ryzhkov-Vazgen Talks [Moscow TV]	33
Commission Views Situation [PRAVDA 15 Dec]	34
Ryzhkov on Work of Commission [Moscow Radio]	35
Further on Armenia Situation in Quake Aftermath	36
20 People Rescued on 8th Day [TASS]	36
Update of Situation [IZVESTIYA 15 Dec]	36
Armenia Official on Looting [TASS]	38
Communications Repair Continues [TASS]	39
Power Supply Restored in Spitak [TASS]	40
Staff To Oversee Stocktaking [Yerevan Radio]	40
Paris Radio Says Rescue Efforts Halted	40
TASS Denies French Report [TASS]	40
Aid, Humanitarian Efforts Continue in Armenia	41
Ambassador Thanks French for Aid [TASS]	41
Armand Hammer Meets Sarkisyan [Yerevan ARMENPRES]	41
Moscow Airport Expedites Shipments [TASS]	41
RSFSR Ministers' Session Held [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Dec]	42
RSFSR Aid Described [TASS]	42
Update on Unrest, Refugee Situation in Azerbaijan	43
Baku Commandant on Firearms Use [Baku Radio]	43
'No Significant Change' in Baku [Baku Radio]	43
Azerbaijan Coping With Refugees [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Dec]	43
Azerbaijan Workers House Refugees [Baku Radio]	44
Professor Castigates 'Extremists' [Baku Radio]	44
Azerbaijan's Vezirov Visits Rayons, Aktivs [Baku Radio]	44
Article Discusses Latvian Peoples Forum [PRAVDA 14 Dec]	45
Journalist Rebuts 'Stalinists' in Sajudis [IZVESTIYA 14 Dec]	47
*Lithuanian Official, Sajudis Leader on Goals [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 19 Dec]	48
Academy of Sciences Official on Baltic Issues [Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 30 Nov]	49
Official Discusses Ban on Rally in Minsk [Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 4 Dec]	53

Report Cites Facts on Ukrainian Nationalists	[KOMOSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Dec]	56
Ukraine Insurgent Army Controversy Viewed	[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 27 Nov]	57
Medvedev Addresses Staff of Journal	[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 14 Dec]	60
PRAVDA on Churbanov Trial Proceedings	[14 Dec]	61
Sakharov on Human Rights, Restructuring	[Paris LE MONDE 11-12 Dec]	62
District Election Commissions Formed	[TASS]	63
Editorial Views Course of Party Elections	[PRAVDA 13 Dec]	63
Academician Interviewed on Constitutional Reform	[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 11-12 Nov]	65
State Management of Public Groups Viewed		
[Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Nov]		66
*Government Commission Publishes Crime Figures		67
Goskomstat 'More Open'	[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 44]	67
Trends in Crime 1985-87	[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 46]	67

Economic

KOMMUNIST Editor on Costs of Reform	[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 13 Dec]	68
Gosbank Chairman Interviewed on Money Surplus	[IZVESTIYA 13 Dec]	71

Military

Moiseyev Replaces Akhromeyev as Chief of Staff	[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Dec]	74
'Manpower Crisis' May Be Behind Troop Cuts	[London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 15 Dec]	75

Work of Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers Profiled
PM1412131588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Major General V. Medvedev, chief of the Soviet Nuclear Risk Reduction Center by military observer Colonel V. Morozov: "How Missiles Are Disappearing"; date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As is well-known, Soviet and U.S. nuclear risk reduction centers have been set up and are operating successfully under the USSR-U.S. agreement of 15 September 1987. Our military observer Colonel V. Morozov met Major General V. Medvedev, chief of the Soviet center, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Morozov] Some time has passed since the USSR and the United States set up their Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers. I would like to ask you, as the leader of the Soviet center: What have you succeeded in doing in this time?

[Medvedev] Let me mention that the mutual accord on creating the Soviet and U.S. centers was secured in the fall of 1987 and that the two centers were formed and set to work as of this spring. The centers were primarily given responsibility for conveying information about ballistic missile launches outside the country's territory and also about the launches of missiles that could present a danger to shipping and aircraft in flight.

Let me point out right away that the agreement also provided for the possible broadening of the functions of these centers if both governments adopt the appropriate decision. After 8 December 1987, when the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed, it was clearly determined that the centers should prepare to fulfill broader functions linked with that treaty. Following its ratification and entry into force, we immediately set about resolving a broad range of tasks linked with the implementation of the treaty. What were they? Above all, the communication of initial data on the number of systems included within the treaty and their locations. The second major function in connection with the treaty is the communication of information on the implementation of measures to monitor the fulfillment of the treaty's provisions.

What have we succeeded in doing in this time (apart from our permanent function—of providing notification of ballistic missile launches)?

Since 1 June the work of the centers can usefully be divided into two phases. The first comprised the 2 months following the entry into force of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—July and August. During these 2 months the sides checked the correctness of the initial data.

Let me say right away that this phase went normally. Both sides established the correctness of the initial data. The work was fully completed by the end of August.

Then the second phase began and it is still under way today—a phase during which quota [kvotnyy] inspections are being carried out.

Inspections linked directly with the actual process of nuclear missile elimination, which, as is well-known, began right after the checks on the initial data, are also an important element in the second phase of our activity. There are eight elimination facilities in the USSR and five in the United States.

To conclude my answer to your first question, let me say that we are satisfied with the work that we and our U.S. partners in the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles have carried out during the first phase of our activity to implement that treaty.

[Morozov] How is the process of eliminating the missiles going in the USSR and the United States? Have any unexpected difficulties appeared in the practical implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles?

[Medvedev] We are satisfied with the work that is being carried out in the course of our verification of the elimination processes. They are continuous at certain facilities in the USSR and the United States. In particular, the process of eliminating operational-tactical missiles (SS-12) at Saryozek (the missiles themselves) and also the process of eliminating their launchers at Stankovo is continuous on Soviet territory. The process of eliminating the stages of the Pershing-1A and Pershing-2 missiles in Longhorn is continuous on the U.S. side. Groups of inspectors (both American and Soviets) are there permanently.

At the other elimination facilities, for example, Lesnaya (where SS-4 missiles are being destroyed) or Sarny (where SS-20 missile launchers are being destroyed) the elimination processes are episodic and take place approximately 1-2 weeks per month. U.S. inspectors are only there in the course of the process itself. The same can be said about the elimination of the SS-20 missiles themselves by the explosive demolition method in Kapustiny Yar or the elimination of the SS-20 missiles by means of launching in Kansk and Chita. These processes are episodic. U.S. inspectors are only present at the relevant time.

Nor is this process continuous on U.S. territory at the Davis-Monthan Air Base, where U.S. surface-launched cruise missiles are eliminated. Soviet inspectors go there when necessary.

The elimination process has now reached the stage where the Soviet side has already eliminated more than 400 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles (excluding

training missiles) and approximately 150 launchers, and the U.S. side has eliminated more than 100 missiles. The difference in levels is owing to the fact that the Soviet Union, as is well-known, has a larger quantity of missiles liable to destruction under the treaty. That is why our rates of elimination have been higher than those of the United States. We expect the U.S. side to step up the rate of eliminating its Pershing-2 missiles in the immediate future.

By and large, in my opinion, the elimination processes are being implemented by the sides in accordance with current procedures.

Let me mention that the commitments are such that the first stage must be completed within 29 months of the entry into force of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. By the end of this first stage of elimination each side should have no more intermediate-range missiles (deployed) than can carry 180 warheads. The overall quantity of deployed and nondeployed intermediate-range missile launchers should be such that the overall number of warheads does not exceed 200 units. During the second phase, during the period from 29 months to 36 months, all remaining intermediate-range missiles and launchers should be eliminated.

As for shorter-range missiles, they must be eliminated within 18 months.

[Morozov] Vladimir Ivanovich, you were recently on an official tour of duty in the United States. What are your personal impressions of the nuclear missile elimination process on U.S. territory?

[Medvedev] Yes, I visited the Davis-Monthan Air Base, where BGM-109 surface-launched cruise missiles were being eliminated. During that visit by the Soviet inspection group, which I accompanied, the U.S. side actually eliminated 41 missiles, 41 launch canisters, and 7 cruise missile launchers that were at that base.

My impression is that the destruction procedures were fulfilled in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

[Morozov] One question to wind up that is not quite connected with your present post. I know that you also keep an eye on the economic effect produced by the incipient practical disarmament. What could you tell our readers on this score?

[Medvedev] I want to mention that the Soviet side was also able to insist on taking economic interests into consideration during the elaboration of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. In particular, it proved possible to secure a decision on the possibility of using many missile and launcher components for civil requirements. Thus, whereas under the protocol on the elimination of missile systems all nose sections of deployed intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are to be destroyed, the warhead [zaryadnyy] devices and guidance system elements from the missiles may be removed and used by each side at its own discretion. The overall value to the USSR alone of the missile weapon components not liable to destruction amounts to more than R150 million. The conversion of former missile transportation systems for civilian purposes will also produce an economic savings. As a result, Soviet peacetime transport alone will be reinforced with all-weather, highly maneuverable and powerful tractors to an overall value of R50 million. The press has already announced that, for instance, West Germany's "Liebherr" firm, which has set up a joint enterprise in the USSR together with the Odessa Heavy Crane Building Production Association, is planning to install telescopic automatic cranes on tractors from the SS-20. They will have applications in housing, highways, and power station construction and in the petroleum refining industry.

The U.S. side is also gaining an economic saving from the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This can be seen just from the fact that, right after the treaty was signed, the U.S. Congress revoked the previously planned appropriations for the construction of new launchers for intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in a number of West European countries. It was also decided to set aside the appropriations for the previously planned deployment of these missiles. In total, these measures alone have enabled the United States to save budgetary funds totaling \$111 million.

A substantial economic savings is also linked with the elimination of the 2,000 nuclear warheads removed from the missiles being eliminated or already in storage. The scientists say that it is entirely possible to convert them into fuel for nuclear reactors.

...The process of eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is continuing successfully. The Soviet and U.S. Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers are also contributing to this process.

Scholar Ponders Human Rights Issues, Freedoms
PM1312114388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Reyn Myullerson, doctor of juridical sciences, article: "The World and Human Rights; Regarding the 40th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"]

[Text] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved 10 December 1948 by the UN General Assembly, is a document that has enjoyed a fortunate, albeit not an easy, existence. In contrast to many other UN resolutions it has not sunk into oblivion. Moreover, a whole series of its provisions were developed further in other international and national enactments.

Nonetheless, it can scarcely be claimed today that a heaven has been created somewhere on earth for the human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration. Leaving aside such gross violations of the spirit and letter of this document as genocide and apartheid, diverse forms of rational discrimination and armed conflicts, which are essentially a negation of all peoples' sacred right to peace and each person's right to live, unfortunately, still exists on our planet. And it requires that we must not waste time to no purpose, as has often occurred before, in making solemn speeches lauding achievements in this sphere "here at home," which are particularly noticeable against the background of the gross violations "over there."

Instead, we particularly need today a serious discussion which will help to answer the following questions. Why in principle is international cooperation necessary in the sphere of defending human rights? Are not states capable on their own of guaranteeing rights and freedoms for their citizens? And why in general must certain peoples concern themselves about the rights which citizens have in other countries? How do things stand in the matter of guaranteeing the individual's rights and freedoms in the world as a whole and in individual states, including our country? And, finally, what ought and what can be done to improve the state of affairs in this sphere?

Individual efforts to defend the rights, for instance, of national minorities, or the struggle against the slave trade occurred in the international arena before. But comprehensive cooperation among states in the sphere of defending the individual's rights and freedoms started to develop only after World War II within the UN framework. The horrors of the war which had finished not long before this were an incentive for this cooperation. Moreover, the genocide conducted by Hitler's followers both at home and in the occupied territories and the suppression of the slightest manifestation of free thought in fascist Germany during the preparation for the great war clearly showed up one of the logical

patterns of the correlation between domestic and foreign policy. The suppression of civil rights at home complements an aggressive foreign policy.

But I would like to stress that it was not only fascism's crimes which made people aware of the necessity for international efforts in the struggle for human rights. The development of civilization, the intermixing of cultures, and the exchange of spiritual values brought about the development of definite standards in people's sense of justice. These are standards by which states must be guided not only in the international arena, but in their attitude toward their own citizens in order to be considered civilized, and to be members enjoying full rights in the international community. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which reveals the content of the principle of defending the individual's rights and freedoms as proclaimed in the UN Charter, enshrines these standards. It proclaims the right of every person to life, work and education, freedom to hold and express his opinion, the right to peaceful assembly and freedom from unwarranted arrest, presumption of innocence, and also many other rights and freedoms.

In 1966 two legally binding documents were opened for signature—the Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which not only develops the rights and freedoms declared in the Universal Declaration on Rights and Freedoms, but foresees the creation of international supervisory mechanisms to make sure they are observed. So, a committee on human rights designed to promote the implementation of this document's requirements by the member states operates within the UN framework on the basis of the second convention.

Both conventions oblige states to provide all persons under their jurisdiction with a sufficiently broad spectrum of socioeconomic, as well as civil and political rights. It should be stressed that these two categories of rights and freedoms are very closely linked. Setting some rights in opposition to others, or singling out some rights as more important or fundamental than others, as sometimes happens, is absolutely intolerable. In practice, ignoring economic or social rights, for example, nullifies the implementation of civil and political rights for at least part of the population.

The reverse is also true. Insufficient development of such political and civil rights as the freedom of speech, and the absence of real participation by citizens in managing state affairs, leads to stagnation not only in the political superstructure, but also in the country's economic development, and consequently, also in the poor quality of the socioeconomic rights proclaimed. Unfortunately, we too have not escaped such a fate. The roots of many of our present economic difficulties lie in the crimes of Stalinism. With the absence of freedom of speech and also the

right to life, profound distortions of the economic foundations of socialism were simply inevitable. The development of modern production means and production relations requires in such development the active participation of individuals who are spiritually free and creative.

Cooperation among states in the human rights sphere is for the good of all peoples. There is no state which can arrogantly claim that it has nothing to gain from international efforts in this sphere. Each and everyone can and needs to improve the situation here both with the help of international documents and procedures, as well as by borrowing experience from each other.

So how does one assess the results of the world community's efforts in the matter of defending human rights?

On the one hand, a tendency to gradually increase the efficiency of these efforts can be traced. On the other hand, the world is still far from the ideal proclaimed in the international documents. There are still too many states which do not recognize the most important human rights compacts as binding. Among these there are even those which are not averse to giving lessons to others on how to observe the generally accepted international standards. And although it is the accepted thing in our country to engage in greater criticism of our failings, one cannot fail to mention, when speaking on the subject of human rights, the stance of the United States which to date has not acceded to the majority of the basic documents in this sphere. In order to condemn other countries for violating civil and political rights, at least the following are needed: first, to assume analogous legal obligations; second, fulfilling them in one's own country; and third seek similar fulfillment by all states with the assistance of international mechanisms and procedures rather than by propaganda campaigns. The latter contribute little to true protection of the individual because they poison the international atmosphere. Finally, these questions cannot be approached with double standards: one's friends and allies (even if they are strategic allies) with one standard, and those states whose social structure or behavior in the international arena are not to one's liking with another standard. Naturally, all these conditions apply equally to the United States, and to us.

International cooperation in work to protect human rights and increase the quality of this cooperation is an essential condition not only for making international relations more humane, but also for creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. It is no accident that the Soviet Union, in its proposals to create a comprehensive system of international security, singles out the humanitarian proposal among its most important components. On the other hand, there can be no question of the flourishing of human rights without disarmament and demilitarization of international relations, without creating a new world economic order and ensuring the

purity of the environment. The ultimate aim of resolving all international problems is man, ensuring his survival and flourishing, and the free development of each individual's creative potential.

It should be recognized that while participating quite vigorously in formulating the international standards on human rights, until recently we often adopted a defensive stance as soon as the conversation turned on international supervision for their observance, and we reacted oversensitively to the slightest criticism. We saw in it if not an infringement on our sovereignty, then at least an attempt to interfere in our internal affairs.

Of course, it can scarcely be denied that there have been attempts to interfere in our internal life under the slogan of defending human rights. Nor are we exempt from them in the future. But this does not mean at all that we should regard questions of human rights as being exclusively our internal affair. Indeed we are not in a position to treat them as such, even if we wanted to. The rights and freedoms of an individual, inasmuch as they have become subject to international regulation, if only confined to those limits within which they have become part and parcel of international documents, are not exclusively the state's domain. And our—sometimes "touchy"—reaction to criticism and excessively cautious attitude to a number of international procedures have sometimes been based on an incompatibility of our practice in the human rights sphere with the demands of international standards.

Restructuring and the new political thinking have brought about changes in our approaches not only to the rights and freedoms of citizens within the country, but also as regards international cooperation in this sphere. The main aim of the rule-of-law state, on the creation of which we are working, is precisely the maximum expansion of the entire spectrum of the individual's rights and freedoms, and real guarantees for their provision. It is enough to say that a whole series of new laws, which must accord with the highest standards from this viewpoint, are being prepared or are nearing completion. These include laws on freedom of conscience, on glasnost, on public associations and organizations.... So, the progress that has been achieved in 3 and 1/2 years is significant, although as before there are many problems on the path to the further democratization of public life.

And it is not only that we are still at the beginning of this path, and that many important legislative measures still lie ahead. Something else is just as important: Democratization and the expansion of human rights and freedoms at the same time also require increased responsibility on the part of an individual for society's affairs and fortunes, and also the enhancement of that individual's set of political standards. World history teaches us that political extremism, an unwillingness and inability to compromise, intolerance of another viewpoint, and absolutizing one's demands are poor companions for human rights and freedoms.

Democratization and the strengthening of legality in our country are processes which are prompted by internal reasons and have internal driving forces. As far as international cooperation in the sphere of human rights is concerned, we are participating in it by no means just to "drag" others up to the generally accepted standards, and not because of any propaganda aims. I perceive in our participation in international compacts on human rights, and in the recognition of the corresponding mechanisms and procedures, primarily additional guarantees to protect the rights of Soviet citizens. One might even say it is an indispensable external element of the socialist rule-of-law state.

Convergence Seen on Human Rights Issues
PM1312111988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 11 Dec 88 p 5

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Ye.A. Lukasheva, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, Human Rights Sector, by G. Orlovskiy: "The Right of the Individual. Looking Ahead to the Opening of an International Academic Conference in Moscow"; first three paragraphs are introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] All honest people in the world want to make people's lives happy, just, and secure. The idea of democratizing the entire world system has become a mighty sociopolitical force. One of its most important aspects is the guarantee of human rights.

The international academic conference "Human Rights in the History of Mankind and in the Modern World," which opens 13 December in Moscow, is devoted to this very important problem. It is pegged to the 40th anniversary of the United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the upcoming jubilee of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights. The convening of the conference was initiated by our academic and public figures and it will be attended by academics, public figures, ministers of religion, and many representatives of academic and public organizations in France, the United States, the FRG, and Austria, as well as eminent lawyers and historians from the socialist countries.

Our correspondent talked with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Ye.A. Lukasheva, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, Human Rights Sector and deputy chairman of the conference organizing committee.

[Orlovskiy] How topical do you think this conference is?

[Lukasheva] The 20th century confronts mankind with a very acute problem—survival! What it requires above all is cooperation. One of its cardinal areas is cooperation among the international community in the human rights sphere.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was an enormous achievement for that reason. It was adopted by the United Nations in 1948 and the day is rightly celebrated as Human Rights Day. The very important principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration were subsequently firmed up in international pacts on civil and political rights and on economic, social, and cultural rights. The Soviet Union ratified both pacts and is doing a great deal of work to ensure that Soviet legislation fully conforms in every respect to the international pacts.

The problems of protecting peace, protecting the environment, and defending human rights are global problems of the present day. I want to stress that the problem of human rights outgrew the borders of individual states long ago. It is clear to many people in the modern world that human rights cannot be safeguarded solely by the internal forces of one state. It needs international cooperation to create the special climate and special circumstances and to elaborate the international law procedures which will help strengthen human rights and their protection.

[Orlovskiy] But each state determines the rights, freedoms, and duties of its own citizens according to its own constitution, does it not?

[Lukasheva] The Soviet Constitution grants citizens a wide range of political, economic, sociocultural, and personal rights. There are also political freedoms and freedom of expression and freedom to hold rallies, street marches, and demonstrations. I would particularly emphasize the right to participate in resolving state and public matters and the right to form public organizations. The system of economic rights for citizens is of immense significance. The October Revolution introduced much that was new into the concept of human rights. In so doing it introduced fundamentally new content into traditional bourgeois liberal rights, political and individual. At the same time, our revolution formulated for the first time in mankind's history a list of economic rights. The example of the Soviet Union was a very important factor determining the inclusion of economic rights in international law documents. Our concept of human rights stems from the unity and indivisibility of all categories of rights: political, economic, and individual.

Occasionally we have been reproached by people abroad who say that we stress the significance of economic rights and underestimate political and individual rights. But right now, when we are endeavoring to adopt as full and as deep an approach as possible to the assessment of the significance of all types of rights, it is perfectly obvious that there is no question of any hierarchy of rights. To ensure the normal harmonious development of the individual it is extremely important that all these rights be safeguarded in equal measure.

I would stress that at a time when we are forming a rule-of-law state special significance attaches to the relationship between state and individual. Therefore, both the political and legal reforms that are being conducted in the country are geared primarily to ensuring human rights and freedoms and creating conditions for the honor and dignity of the individual to be sacred and inviolable. To that end, the rule-of-law state establishes certain mechanisms. I would mention the significance of the new structure of organs of power in the USSR; the division of legislative, executive, and judicial power; and the improvement of the work of judicial organs. Special significance attaches to the establishment of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, which will help strengthen the rule of law in the country and the legal foundations of state and public life. I believe that future stages, connected with the revision of the Constitution, will inevitably entail a widening of the range of civil rights.

[Orlovskiy] In this connection I would like to ask you: Does the Soviet public definitely have a package, as the saying goes nowadays, of measures which you will be taking to the international conference?

[Lukasheva] It is with satisfaction that I can tell you that a whole series of new laws has been prepared or is in the process of completion and these will meet the highest standards from the viewpoint of safeguarding the rights of the individual. I am talking about acts such as the laws on freedom of conscience, glasnost, public associations and organizations, and much else. In places of imprisonment there are no people convicted for their political or religious beliefs. It is proposed that new laws will incorporate extra guarantees ruling out all forms of persecution for these reasons. Of course, this does not apply to those who have committed actual criminal offenses or state crimes (espionage, terrorism, and so forth). This is by no means the complete "package" of statutes on human rights that we now have. The Soviet Union's involvement in human rights monitoring mechanisms at the United Nations and within the framework of the all-European process will be expanded. In general, our credo, as formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations, is that political problems can be solved only by political means and human problems only by human means.

[Orlovskiy] On the basis of experience, could you build a model of the basic positions of the meeting participants?

[Lukasheva] Experience of contact with foreign partners suggests that there has been a considerable breakthrough of late in the attitude toward human rights. We are moving toward one another. Above all, we have become less intolerant and more self-critical, and the new political thinking has been a factor in this. It prompted the need to look closely at all that mankind has accumulated.

At the same time, our Western partners are also beginning to be more sympathetic toward processes taking place in the USSR. It seems to me that they respect the steps that have been taken in the USSR in the human rights sphere. I think that since M.S. Gorbachev's statement at the United Nations that there are no political prisoners in the USSR, one obstacle that has always been in the way of our dialogue has collapsed. Measures connected with the regulation of questions of entry and exit and freedom of conscience are also extremely important in terms of being able to conduct a normal dialogue on human rights.

There is another goal. We said that the problem we are facing today is the survival of mankind and the need to uphold peace. And it seems to me that the current stage of development of the world community has led to the elaboration of a new set, a new international standard of rights which can only be guaranteed through the joint efforts of all states. I mean the right to peace, the right to life, the right to a healthy environment. Only concerted joint efforts by the entire world community will contribute to preserving rights of this type.

Radio Program Examines Relations With PRC
LD0912220088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 9 Dec 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers"] program presented by Vladimir Pasko, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator, with Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovo, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pasko] And now I'll move on to your letters, comrades. I'll start with questions connected with the PRC's policy. Comrade Pankratyev, an inhabitant of Stavropol, asks about the current state of PRC-SRV relations and whether a dialogue exists between the two countries. There is no direct dialogue. It takes place through intermediaries, via Soviet-Chinese relations. We are in favor of the normalization of Chinese-Vietnamese relations and for a direct dialogue between them.

Anton Andreyevich Ivul from the settlement of (Maryakovka) in Tomsk Oblast, in expressing his view of PRC-SRV relations, writes: Can one consider the PRC to be a socialist country? What is our attitude toward the PRC's foreign policy? I would like to note that lifestyle and foreign policy are different things. In mode of life, and aims, and tasks, the PRC is a socialist state and has not stopped being so. As far as foreign policy is concerned, as life demonstrates, contradictions can also emerge between socialist countries.

I would like to draw your attention to the following: In their opinions on the PRC many of our listeners, as a rule, rest on the view which was largely formed by the policy of the former Chinese leadership. Comrade Prozorov from Vladimir—and we will be talking in greater

detail about his letter a little later—writes: Has the word "Maoist" really been excluded from our political lexicon for all time? For Maoism, he asserts, is alive. But the comrade has failed to notice that there are no reasons to use this definition. Maoism has disappeared into the past along with Mao. His leftist positions were condemned by the Chinese communists themselves. We have set ourselves the aim of improving relations with the PRC and of ridding them of everything that is harmful, alien, and incompatible with goodneighborliness.

Last week, as you no doubt know, we talked and wrote a great deal about the first visit to Moscow by a PRC foreign minister in many years. This alone shows that the establishment of goodneighborly relations with us is something that is also desired by the PRC.

So is it necessary to stir up the past now, when these relations are being established? I have asked Comrade Sovo, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, to speak in greater detail about the current state of Soviet-PRC affairs. Thank you, Vsevolod Ivanovich:

[Sovo] Clearly the day will come when historians will make a detailed and all-round analysis of the events and will determine the causes and the consequences of the discord that existed between Moscow and Beijing. And they will do so from the political, economic, and simply human points of view. For the moment there is one thing that can be said quite definitely on our part: Even during the alarming situations of the conflict in relations with the PRC, the Soviet people did not believe that the confrontation between the PRC and the Soviet Union would continue for decades if not for centuries. The time has come when we have grounds to look into the future not just with expectation, but with optimism. Soviet-PRC relations are entering the stage of realism. Bilateral relations have improved noticeably. The sides are expressing themselves in favor—and quite definitely so—of relations being fully normalized. They are firmly convinced that the Soviet-PRC frontier must become a frontier of peace, friendship, and goodneighborliness.

[Pasko] A specific dialogue about the way in which military confrontation can be reduced—bearing in mind that military means have become obsolete as a primary means of pursuing policy—is now taking place between Moscow and Beijing. Moreover, it has already been recorded in documentary form that the Soviet Union and the PRC have coincident or similar approaches to the central problems of the present day, believing completely that at the present time the authority and weight of a state are measured in terms of the level of economic development, science, and the cultural heritage of the people, in conjunction with impeccable oral and political directives. Translated into everyday language this means

that restructuring in the Soviet Union and reform in the PRC have given a considerable impetus to the desire of both of them to seek ways of widening the spheres of agreement.

The deepened understanding of each other and the discovery of points of contact, as the diplomats say, did not just come of their own accord. This is the result of many years of painstaking dialogue. Let me just recall that political consultations have been taking place between our countries' foreign ministries since 1982 and their content and pace have been increasing.

Soviet-PRC links in the public area have expanded considerably over recent years. Peoples diplomacy is successfully overcoming former prejudice and is restoring the good traditions of mutual attention and respect.

But, once again, a few words about official diplomacy. The last time a PRC foreign minister was in Moscow was 30 years ago. That is the calculation made by journalists on the eve of the recent visit by Comrade Qian Qichen to the USSR. The situation is now ripe for Soviet-PRC relations to emerge onto a qualitatively new level. Mutual understanding has been reached on holding a summit meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping in Beijing during the first half of next year. That is an event that heralds the start of a new stage in Soviet-PRC relations. It will undoubtedly have positive consequences for the international situation as a whole, too.

Overseas understanding of this is growing. At any rate, there has been a noticeable decline in the ambitions of those who would like to play the so-called Chinese card against us. The firm and broad agreement between the Soviet Union and the PRC is a factor of great foreign policy significance, the securing of which will require constructive and large-scale efforts by both sides. [passage omitted]

Western Press Cited on Integrated European Market
PM1412114588 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 50, Dec 88
(Signed to Press 8 Dec 88) p 2

["Foreign Press Review" by T. Valovaya, deputy editor of the *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* World Economy Desk: "An Age of Integration and Nationalistic Brakes?"]

[Text] What will Europe be like in the nineties? This is perhaps the main topic for mass media abroad. Britain's weekly *THE ECONOMIST* specifically devoted an editorial article to it. It discussed the creation of a single market from West Europe's national markets by 31 December 1992, and the EEC's alignment with the increasingly integrated East European national markets

within the CEMA framework. The article's title is significant: "Europe Reborn. 1992 Plus Restructuring." The article focuses attention on two key processes now under way in the common European home.

The first concerns the advantages of the full economic integration of West European states and the resulting consolidation of their competitiveness against the United States and Japan. "West Europe has devised 'Project 1992,'" the journal writes, "a plan for creating a single internal EEC market which will be larger than the American or Japanese market."

The second key process, THE ECONOMIST writes, is "the onset of revolutionary restructuring in East European countries." Their integration leads to increased competitiveness. Hence the journal goes on to ask: Are these two processes compatible?

In the event of success, they are certainly compatible, THE ECONOMIST believes. After 1992, the Western community will offer a larger market for the sale of its East European neighbors' output, provided it is competitive. And, as a result of restructuring, the economy of the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries will become more open for business ties with the West. Europe as a whole will become politically more tranquil, and economically a more interdependent region to the advantage of all partners within it.

It is, of course, impossible to disagree with this conclusion.

At the same time THE ECONOMIST, attempting to weigh up the chances for successful implementation of "the two great European experiments," looks at problems which could apply the brakes on integration processes in the West and on restructuring in the East. The journal also takes the problem of interethnic relations into account. Despite the fact that all EEC countries have approved in principle the idea of creating a single domestic market, the journal writes, quite a few difficulties of a national nature lie along the path to it.

It will be necessary to overcome obstacles caused by differences in national economic mechanisms and approaches toward integration, in rules for regulating economic activity. It is specifically a matter of eliminating differences in taxation, pricing, and foreign currency mechanisms in individual states and doing away with all restrictions on the movement of goods, capital, services, and manpower. Here, according to the Western business press, there can be no room for national exclusiveness or unjustified advantages and privileges. And even though the countries' stance on questions concerning national sovereignty differs, it is necessary to overcome these obstacles for the sake of common progress.

The West European press' attention has recently focused more and more on events occurring in the sphere of interethnic relations in the Soviet Union. They are often

examined, as in the aforementioned article, in the context of the development of common integration processes in Europe. The very thought of these processes possibly slowing down for national reasons causes a certain concern among businessmen in the West.

"The prospects of further nationalist ferment in the Soviet Union causes direct concern in the West," Britain's THE DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote recently. This conservative British press organ finds the hypothetical possibility of the "disintegration" of the vast Soviet market so discouraging that it even deemed it possible to make an extremely curious admission, dictated by positive changes in Europe: "...Even just a few years ago the Western countries felt hardly concealed joy on learning about the Kremlin's difficulties with its subjects."

Let us forgive the newsmen's commitment to the standard stereotype about "the Kremlin and its subjects." Let us rather think about what has caused the change in the approach of the Western press? Indeed, one does not encounter in the pages of reputable business publications in the West any frank malevolence about the events occurring in a number of republics in our country. In our view, the reason is perfectly obvious.

The policy of restructuring which enjoys support and popularity among broad circles of the world public and the new thinking in politics and the economy have resulted in sharp galvanization of our country's foreign economic ties with business circles in the developed capitalist countries. Western entrepreneurs have felt that the changing Soviet Union is becoming an increasingly attractive partner, prepared—on mutually advantageous basis—to create joint enterprises, to develop production sharing and scientific and technical ties with foreign firms, and to create special economic zones.

In addition to its extremely rich natural resources and its mighty intellectual potential, the Soviet Union has another important advantage in the eyes of Western businessmen: Despite all its national diversity, it already has a single and fully integrated domestic market. At a time when West European countries are only dreaming of a single domestic market, such a market with 285 million consumers is already a reality in the USSR.

We are talking about a market with a single foreign currency, banking, and financial system; a market which is not divided by borders and customs barriers. Collaboration with it promises huge economic gain for both foreign businessmen and Soviet consumers. This is why Western companies establish business contacts with Soviet partners despite the traditional complaints about "the inflexibility of Soviet legislation." If foreign businessmen set up joint enterprises in, say, Moscow or Leningrad, Tallinn or Tashkent, they are not investing their money specifically in Moscow or Leningrad Oblast, in Estonia or Uzbekistan, but are banking on promoting their products also in other regions of the country. It is

perfectly obvious that such an approach suits the interests of Soviet enterprises, let alone the consumers, regardless of their nationality or place of residence.

Furthermore, when deciding to establish production contacts with some Soviet enterprise, a foreign businessman also takes into account the entire ramified network of this enterprise's cooperation ties with its partners and suppliers of raw materials and components in different parts of the country. The integral nature of the Soviet economy and the national economic ties existing between regions are a considerable factor favoring the establishment of business relations with various enterprises in our country.

A few days ago the British newspaper *FINANCIAL TIMES* informed its readers about the article by Academician Gustav Naan of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences recently published in *PRAVDA*, describing it as "superbly argued." The British newspaper noted in particular that, in the Estonian scientist's opinion, extremist views of the problem of republics' economic sovereignty run contrary to the age of mankind's global interdependence.

It is obviously economic calculations that underlie the rather restrained response by publications of Western business circles and a number of other reputable newspapers and journals to the national movements in some Soviet republics. The response by Finland's mass media to events in the Soviet Baltic republics is indicative in this regard.

"If Estonia," a commentary by Finland's newspaper *SUOMENMAA* points out, "manages to define its position as a Soviet republic within the USSR, opportunities for development will open before it. The pessimism which is at times shown in Estonia is groundless. The Soviet Union has recognized as justified some of the republic's complaints, including the concern over the ecological situation. The problems of the economy are complex, but they can be solved through persistent work." According to the newspaper's logic, it would be much simpler and quicker to do this within the framework of the vast Soviet market.

Another Finnish newspaper, *UUSI SUOMI*, published a selection of statements by the country's politicians on this question. Finland's Minister of Foreign Trade P. Salolainen noted in particular: "I hope that events in Estonia will develop calmly. The only sensible alternative is to find a long-term solution. Finland's task is not to interfere in the course of this process."

Finland and Soviet Estonia are linked by traditionally close trade and economic ties. Finnish industrialists have actively joined the process of creating joint enterprises in the USSR's territory, including the Baltic region. Any aggravation of the situation can only jeopardize the economic interests of partners on either side of the border.

The foreign press reports the processes of expanding the economic rights of republics and local organs of power, and the decentralization of decisionmaking. For example, Britain's journal *THE ECONOMIST* recently reported that, beginning next year and by way of an experiment, a number of USSR regions, including specifically the Baltic republics, Belorussia, Moscow, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and the Tatar ASSR, will be transferred to a system of territorial economic accountability. Western experts expect that the expansion of the economic powers of republics and regions will lead to galvanization of the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties in the interest of the regions themselves and of the entire USSR.

But today, when centripetal tendencies are growing stronger in Europe and when smaller countries, including Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Austria, are worried in case they are left by the wayside of the integration process, any extremist mood with separatist leanings looks, from their viewpoint, like some sort of economic anachronism.

NATO Adherence to 'Deterrence' Deplored
PM1212102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "The Old Positions. NATO Council Session Ends"]

[Text] The traditional winter Atlantic week has ended in the Belgian capital. At the start of the week the bloc's military committees were in session, and on 8 and 9 December the NATO Council session at foreign minister level was held.

The main points on the session agenda, as NATO Secretary General M. Woerner reported at a news conference, were East-West relations, arms control, and arms reduction—particularly with reference to conventional weapons. The decisions of the military committees and questions of distributing expenditure among the bloc members within the NATO budget framework were also examined. The ministers were presented with a confidential report examining the question of changes in the Soviet Union and their impact on the situation on the European continent and in the world.

From the start of the NATO Council session the ministers devoted particular attention to M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly. The Soviet Union's decision announced there to unilaterally reduce its armed forces will change the disposition of forces in Europe in the most major fashion. It reaffirms the USSR's intention to pursue a purely defensive strategic course.

Opening the NATO Council session, its chairman—Netherlands Foreign Minister H. van den Broek—noted the exceptional importance of M.S. Gorbachev's New York speech. Belgian Minister of External Relations L. Tindemans said that the Soviet Union has adopted very

important measures. NATO Secretary General M. Woerner assessed the Soviet statement as a "step in the right direction." Belgian Minister of National Defense G. Coeme and FRG representatives, assessing the Soviet proposals, questioned the expediency of NATO's modernizing its tactical nuclear weapons under the prevailing conditions.

However, we also heard from the Atlanticists—particularly the members of the U.S. delegation—statements to the effect that the Soviet measures were "inadequate" and that even after their implementation "asymmetry" would continue to exist between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe in the field of conventional arms.

During the session the text of a special NATO Council statement was disseminated. It set out proposals which the alliance members intend to submit at the conventional arms reduction talks. At first glance the document gives the impression that the alliance participants are demanding very major armed forces and arms cuts from the Warsaw Pact countries while intending to restrict themselves to purely symbolic steps.

The communique adopted by the NATO Council notes that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union open up promising prospects for improving East-West dialogue—as attested by M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session. At the same time, it confirmed for the umpteenth time that the "deterrence strategy" continues to be the basis of NATO policy and approved a report prepared for the NATO Military Planning Committee session. The report calls for the development of military programs.

Speaking at the concluding press conference, NATO Secretary General M. Woerner explained that the NATO "deterrence strategy" is based on both conventional and nuclear weapons. He defended the plans for modernizing U.S. tactical nuclear weapons sited in West Europe. M. Woerner also dwelt on the problem of working out a global NATO concept with regard to East-West relations.

U.S. Report Plays Down 'Soviet Military Threat'
*LD0512093388 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT
5 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 5 TASS—A surprise attack on NATO countries from the east is hardly probable. This is one of the conclusions drawn in a report by a defence policy group of the House Armed Services Committee. The report summed up results of the hearings held in Congress behind closed doors last September on U.S. defence planning and the preparedness of Warsaw Treaty troops.

The hearings were addressed by CIA officers, staff members of the U.S. Defence Department and non-governmental experts.

Although the authors of the report started from a groundless supposition that an attack would come from the east, the conclusions they came to obviously were not in line with the theory of a 'Soviet military threat'. Thus, the report pointed out that the troops of the NATO countries are, on the whole, on a higher level of combat preparedness.

The authors of the report believe that the threat to NATO could come from a total mobilization of Warsaw Treaty forces which, according to their own estimates, could take several weeks. They admitted that the Russians were not preparing a sudden attack. At the same time they asserted that NATO could never rule out the possibility of a sudden attack. Les Espin (Democrat, Wisconsin), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, pointed out in a press release that the probability of a sudden attack was small, because the number of Warsaw Treaty forces ready to immediately start combat operations would not give them a decisive advantage over the NATO forces.

Does the report mean that U.S. lawmakers have finally realized how groundless is the invention of a 'Soviet military threat'? Unfortunately, they have not. William Dickinson (Republican, Alabama), member of the House Armed Services committee, stated that western countries should not rule out a sudden attack when developing NATO strategy.

Carlucci Tour of Persian Gulf Discussed
*PM1512113588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Dec 88 First Edition p 3*

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Review": "Who Is Stoking Tension?"]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci returned a week ago from a tour of a number of Persian Gulf countries, but the tour continues to attract attention. F. Carlucci's stay in the first country on his itinerary—Oman—already showed what he intended to talk about: retaining his bases in the countries and expanding the military aid to them for this purpose. At the same time he announced that the aim of his trip was "to reassert the United States' commitment to maintaining stability in the region."

This statement by the U.S. defense secretary scarcely generated an excess of enthusiasm in local capitals. After all, only recently, obviously in the name of this "stability," the U.S. Navy fired on oil platforms and ships in the Gulf and shot down passenger aircraft above its waters. Especially since the head of the U.S. defense department did not fail to pay an ostentatious visit to the U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier "Nimitz" which with escort ships is cruising off the Oman coast at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

The scenario for F. Carlucci's visit to other countries differed little from his Oman visit: the same interest in retaining "firm ties," that is retaining U.S. military establishments. At his concluding conference in Kuwait the U.S. defense secretary stated that Washington would follow the development of the Persian Gulf situation "with its former vigilance." And although the U.S. ships have switched from escorting tankers to general control of sea communications, he said, they would continue to be "on combat alert." The Pentagon chief also provided information on the withdrawal of three U.S. ships from the Gulf and the likelihood of the withdrawal of yet another one in the very near future. But he stressed that the United States "is planning no fundamental changes in the structure of the U.S. Armed Forces in this region" and for the foreseeable future the United States will retain an impressive grouping of 25 ships there.

It has not escaped world public attention that at the same time that F. Carlucci was touring a number of Persian Gulf countries THE NEW YORK TIMES published an interview with Marine General G. Crist, who has just left the post of Centcom commander. As is known, this the selfsame Central Command which is in charge of the rapid deployment force and which the Pentagon has charged with carrying out operations in the Near East and Persian Gulf zone. And this general said that the operation which the U.S. Navy is carrying out in the Persian Gulf has opened up broad opportunities in the matter of military cooperation with Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and Kuwait and these opportunities must be

used to the full. The presence of U.S. ships in the Gulf and the approaches to it and of U.S. aircraft based in Saudi Arabia and Oman will in General G. Crist's opinion make it considerably easier for the rapid deployment forces to implement combat operations in the region if the need arises. And past experience shows that Washington, which is pursuing its own selfish aims, could experience this "need" at any moment.

The Pentagon's intentions, expressed so graphically, to reinforce its positions in the Persian Gulf have generated a negative reaction in the countries of the region. In a statement for the press after the end of F. Carlucci's visit, Kuwaiti Information Minister Jabir Mubarak al-Hamad indicated that Kuwait will seek to reduce the foreign military presence in the waters of the Gulf, which will definitely help to reduce tension in the region. A.A. Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Parliament, sharply criticized F. Carlucci's statement on retaining the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf. According to a UPI report he stated that "the continuing presence of foreign warships in the Persian Gulf is fraught with danger for the region yet the United States has unfortunately declared that its naval forces will remain in the region. We believe this decision of Washington's is harmful to the cause of long-term peace in the Persian Gulf region."

Indeed, the massive U.S. military presence in the region has already frequently placed its security on the brink beyond which the flames of a large-scale military conflict could flare.

United States & Canada

Reagan Statement on Talks With PLO Cited *LD1512090288 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 15 TASS— The United States has decided to establish a direct dialogue with the PLO, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said in a statement issued in Washington on Wednesday.

The document points out that the PLO has clearly recognised Israel's right to exist, renounced terrorism and accepted the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

"These have long been our conditions for a substantive dialogue. They have been met. Therefore, I have authorized the State Department to enter into a substantive dialogue with PLO representatives," President Reagan emphasised in his statement.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz told a news conference on Wednesday night that he had authorised the U.S. ambassador in Tunisia to begin talks with PLO representatives. However, Shultz said the administration's stance towards the Middle East settlement remained unshakeable.

"The objective of the United States remains, as always, a comprehensive peace in the Middle East." But, some of Shultz's words made it clear that the United States was viewing the dialogue with PLO only as a means to continue its policy of separate deals.

Shultz was quite open in declaring that the United States regarded this dialogue "as only one more step towards the beginning of direct negotiations between the parties" involved in the conflict. He also emphasised that the United States would not recognise the declaration proclaiming an independent Palestinian state.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS News Agency notes that the U.S. decision to establish a direct dialogue with the PLO came two weeks after Shultz had accused it of terrorism and denied an entry visa to PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat who wanted to take part in the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Israel's embassy in the United States has voiced its disappointment over the U.S. Administration's decision.

A statement issued by the Israeli Embassy says that Israel does not think that the U.S. step will advance the Middle East peace settlement.

Reagan Cited on U.S. Economy, Budget Deficit *LD1412110988 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 14 TASS—President Ronald Reagan stated on Tuesday "I'll rest a whole lot easier knowing that I've left the White House in good hands" passing the reins of government to U.S. President-elect George Bush who will be officially sworn in as the 41st president of the United States on January 20, next year.

This thesis about continuity in the U.S. Government's policy was voiced by Reagan in remarks to the annual meeting of political appointees, business leaders and members of legislative staffs.

He laid the main emphasis on publicising the Republican administration's achievements "on the domestic front", and also touched upon some acute problems which still remain unresolved.

The President emphasized that the main principles in the activities of the Republican administration were "the principles of limited government, free enterprise, and respect for family, community and faith". He said the policy resulted in the longest peacetime economic expansion on record which the President referred to as the "American miracle".

But dry official statistics do not always confirm such enthusiastic assessments. On the very same day when the President was telling his audience about the "American miracle", the U.S. Department of Commerce issued the latest report on the deficit of the balance of payments, which amounted to 30,900 million dollars in the third quarter of the current year.

Reagan himself had to admit the seriousness of the problem of chronic deficits of the federal budget, describing it as his greatest disappointment. He did not offer any new ways to overcome the unbalanced nature of the budget deficit, and reiterated that the new administration did not intend to raise taxes for the sake of that.

Many experts believe, however, that this is the only possible way to reduce the gap between government spending and federal revenue.

The President laid the entire blame for the chronic deficits of the federal budget and other problems that arise in the pursuance of the foreign and domestic policies of the United States on the so-called iron triangle which, he said, is made up of the Democrats-controlled Congress, media, and special interest groups.

Reagan pointed out that the U.S. Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, turned into a closed club with practically unchanging membership who seek election with the backing of special interest groups.

The press, he said, covered the administration's initiatives in a distorted light and made a non-critical approach to the analysis of the positions of its opponents. The President, incidentally, did not mention that his own administration, as none other, actively used such special interest groups and media for the attainment of its goals.

Bush Welcomes Gorbachev's 'Flexibility'

LD1412213288 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 14 TASS—President-elect George Bush said today that he welcomed the flexibility and innovation demonstrated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the U.N. General Assembly session.

Responding to reporters' questions on the reaction to this speech in which new far-reaching proposals for ensuring international security were made, Bush said at a news conference in Washington that he hailed the position adopted by the Soviet Union. He stressed, however, that it was too early for the United States, where the power transfer process took place now, to give an answer to these Soviet initiatives. The president-elect said that the Bush administration would thoroughly study them. Bush will be inaugurated as president of the United States on January 20, 1989. He added that he needed time to analyze those proposals.

Bush also noted that the new administration would be unable to work out every point of its programme and proposals for Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments by February 15, the scheduled date for their next round. He emphasized great interest in continuing these talks at which an agreement on halving the Soviet and U.S. arsenals of strategic offensive armaments, provided the ABM Treaty is preserved, was elaborated, and said that his administration would work actively to formulate its position in detail within the shortest time.

U.S. Figures React to Gorbachev UN Speech

PM1412150388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[V. Sukhoy dispatch under the general heading "Wide Range of Opinions. What People in America Think About the Soviet Initiatives"]

[Text] New York, 13 Dec—M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, which met with enthusiasm worldwide, has prompted the most diverse sentiments in U.S. corridors of power: on the one hand approval and support, and on the other hand caution and confusion. Official administration spokesmen have described it as "gripping" in terms of its tone and the breadth of topics and problems it covered. Particular attention is being

devoted to the parts of the speech on world cooperation, the deideologization of relations between states, and the rejection of the threat of the use of force as a tool of foreign policy.

The proposal to set up an international center for peaceful cooperation under UN auspices, based on the Krasnoyarsk radar station, has been greeted positively. "This initiative," Elton Fry, a military expert from the Council for International Relations, believes, "opens up opportunities for further talks and creates good prerequisites for resolving the endless arguments about this installation."

Many economists are pointing to the Soviet Union's serious interest in cooperation with international economics institutes. M.S. Gorbachev's speech, William Cline, staffer at Washington's Institute for International Economics, stated, shows that the USSR is prepared to bring constructive impetus to the work of the main international economic organs, and to resolve world economic problems from the standpoint of new thinking.

Skeptics think that the Soviet leader said nothing new on settling the situation around Afghanistan, failed to explain what the Soviet Union understands by the "freedom of choice" enjoyed by all countries irrespective of their socioeconomic systems, and did not make clear just how the Soviet Armed Forces in the Asian part of our country will be reduced. The main theses of all the "nonbelievers" is: "We must wait and see what come of the words and what the Soviet Union will do in practice...."

John Tower's Chances for Pentagon Post Viewed

PM1412153788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Koryavin: "The Sharp Angles of the Pentagon"]

[Text] The program of the transition period is being curtailed. The inauguration of President George Bush is approaching. The membership of the next cabinet has already been largely determined. However, sharp debate has developed around the nominations for the post of secretary of defense.

John Tower, former senator from Texas, remains the main contender for the job at the Pentagon, named for its distinctive angular shape.

But Tower has come under heavy crossfire. He is being criticized on one side for his links with a number of important companies, and on the other by the press, which has actively taken up the issue of his morality. However, the fact that the incoming administration has "tripped up" over the choice of the Pentagon boss involves objective rather than subjective factors. And they are as follows: The problem of the U.S. military

department, and along with it the extensive arms program and consequent problem of the military budget, is becoming very acute today. Various approaches are clear. The strengthening of America's military might under the Reagan administration is considered justified. But it has cost the country \$2 trillion, and has been a direct factor in producing the incredible budget deficit and astronomical national debt.

The prevailing tendency now, therefore, is to revise the ceilings of military appropriations and the whole gamut of arms programs. This trend is making headway in the Congress, although the ultraconservative forces there are defending their positions. This is also manifested, by the way, in the approach to the nomination of the new Pentagon boss. Tower is considered "too weak" by the right wing because of his attitude to the "Star Wars" program. But Vice President-elect Quayle, himself a representative, as is well known, of conservative circles, has come to Tower's defense, expressing his confidence in him. Other legislators, though, for example Les Aspin, have stressed that the former Texas senator "has already been seriously damaged."

But the main dispute, of course, is over the budget. It needs "minor repairs," it has to be "modified" and made "more flexible." And these amendments are concerned not with increasing the budget but, on the contrary, with the aim of sensibly reducing expenditure on military programs. These feelings in the Congress, as in other Washington political circles, are generated to a considerable extent by the new Soviet initiatives cutting conventional arms. A WASHINGTON POST editorial points out that the Soviet decision announced by M.S. Gorbachev in New York to cut men and materiel in Europe is forcing the United States to reconsider its military expenditure. And its reduction, the newspaper stresses, could substantially rectify the abnormal budgetary deficit. In short, the country's economic development should not be snagged on the sharp angles of the Pentagon, and military appropriations must not be allowed to hamper the development of the country's national objectives. That is the predominant opinion in Washington today.

China

PRC 'Welcomes' Gorbachev's UN Initiative
*OW1512032588 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Li Zhaoxing, spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated at a news briefing in Beijing Wednesday [7 December] that China welcomes the new Soviet peace initiative that Soviet leader Gorbachev made during a speech he gave at a UN session.

Addressing the UN session on 7 December, the Soviet leader said that the Soviet Union would withdraw a portion of its troops from Eastern Europe and will withdraw a large number of troops from Mongolia.

The spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry said: We welcome this positive development.

Talks With PRC on Amur River Water Project
*OW1512110788 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 9 Dec 88*

[Text] The Sino-Soviet Intergovernmental Planning Committee for the Comprehensive Utilization of Water Resources in Border Rivers held a working meeting, discussing a power project to be built on the Amur River and matters concerning environmental protection during the construction period.

Our station correspondent Dmitriyev interviewed leading figures at the working meeting—Zhao Chuanshao, representative from the Chinese Ministry of Water Resources, and Smirnov, Soviet chief engineer in charge of designing the project—on the outcome of this meeting and the prospects for their collaboration on this project.

The Soviet representative said:

[Smirnov speaking in Russian fading into Chinese translation] The outcome of the meeting is very satisfactory. It drew both sides' positions closer together on the utilization of the water resources of the Amur River or Heilong Jiang.

[Dmitriyev] What are the differences between the sides on this matter?

Smirnov said:

[Smirnov] A dispute arises from the difficulty of balancing ecological considerations as well as both sides' interests when making technical decisions concerning the huge project on the Amur River, or Heilong Jiang, to minimize damage to the environment.

What is the Chinese expert's position on this matter?

[Zhao Chuanshao] The construction of any water project inevitably affects the surrounding environment. We therefore seek to minimize the unfavorable effects. Of course, it will cause flooding in some areas and affect certain natural preserves, which it is our job to identify and then reduce their damage.

At the beginning of the design stage for the Amur River project, Soviet and Chinese experts had already grasped the grandeur of the project and decided that, in order to avoid technical and ecological mistakes, it would be necessary to build a [words indistinct] model of the project. The model is now complete.

The next or third meeting of the Sino-Soviet intergovernmental planning committee for the Amur River project will finalize the project, which will include the selection of the construction site for the first-phase work.

'Bright Future' Seen for Joint Space Research
OW1512094088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region
1300 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] A few days ago, when Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and his counterpart, Shevardnadze, were holding talks in Moscow, both sides held that there are good prospects for cooperation between China and the Soviet Union in the economic, trade, science, and technological fields. As far as cooperation between the two countries is concerned, we believe that space research is a field with a bright future. Recently, a delegation headed by Tereshkova, a cosmonaut and chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, visited China. Among the members of the delegation was a staff member of the Soviet (?Administration of Cosmonauts) named Kolushenkov. A reporter of this station interviewed (Kolushinev) and asked him a few questions.

The first question our correspondent asked was: What is the present state of space research in the PRC?

In answer to this question, he said:

[Kolushenkov speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] [Words indistinct] According to information provided by the Western press and the Chinese comrades, China can launch from 10 to 12 satellites a year. As is known to all, a new launch site in Sichuan has been put into use. Recently, sources have said that China has a plan to launch a manned spacecraft. In addition, China has built [words indistinct] for training cosmonauts.

[Correspondent] Are Chinese experts participating in various international space research cooperative projects?

[Kolushenkov] In recent years, China has entered the international arena in space research. For instance, China's space research organization, the Research Institute of Space Technology, has conducted successful negotiations with the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It has signed contracts with European space organizations. A plan has been set to use a Chinese rocket to launch a Swedish satellite in 1991. China will also cooperate with a [words indistinct] organization. This means that China is carrying out extensive cooperation in this field.

What is the state of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in space research?

Kolushenkov answered:

[Kolushenkov] Up to now, there has been very little cooperation between Soviet and Chinese space experts. They have only occasionally spoken with each other at international meetings, but there is no specific cooperative plan. [words indistinct] As Min Guirong, president

of China's Research Institute of Space Technology, told us at a recent meeting, the visit by the Soviet delegation marked the beginning of cooperation between his institute and Soviet experts and scholars. Our delegation was accorded warm hospitality. We heard and saw many interesting things. For example, it was the first time that the Soviets acquainted themselves with the details of China's space research program. We visited the new China Machine Building Plant in Shanghai, which builds rockets, though such a visit was not included in our original schedule.

During our visit to the research institute and the Shanghai plant, their representatives repeatedly stressed that they are interested in space research cooperation with Soviet scholars and experts. We invited the Chinese experts to visit the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences to discuss cooperative research projects of mutual interest. On the other hand, China invited 10 Soviet space experts to attend the Fourth International Astronautics Conference, which is scheduled for October 1989 in Beijing.

In conclusion, (Kolushinev) said: I feel that our visit was too short, but it produced substantial results. Our mutual understanding has been enhanced. There is no (?reason) why we should not use the possibility of cooperation with Chinese scholars engaged in space research.

Automobile Manufacturing Cooperation Discussed
OW1512005088 Moscow International Service in
Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet automotive industry and relevant organizations in China are holding talks on the feasibility of assembling Lada sedans in China, according to the Soviet journal FOREIGN TRADE.

According to the journal, the two countries will also discuss the possibility of Moscow's Ligachev automobile plant taking part in the renovation of a Chinese automobile factory.

Contacts have been actively developing between the two countries in recent years on car manufacturing. Soviet-made Lada and Volga sedans can often be seen in Chinese factories. At construction sites, Soviet-made heavy trucks are Chinese workers' favorites. The number of Soviet automobiles in China has exceeded 100,000 during the past 4 years.

Japanese Pearl Harbor Strike, Arms Increase Noted
OW1512102688 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, 47 years ago, on 7 December 1941, Japan launched an air attack against America's military base at Pearl Harbor, and the Pacific war broke out. In this connection, station observer Mulatov writes the following commentary, entitled: On the Background of the Historical Lesson.

At that time, Japan had been a rival of the United States and Britain, which was an ally of the United States, in contending for domination of the Asia-Pacific region. Japan's attack against the United States' main base of its Pacific fleet and Japan's later attack against the British fleet in the South Pacific were carefully prepared.

In attacking Pearl Harbor, Japan used several aircraft carriers, 40 destroyers, 50 bombers, and 31 dive-bombers. Japan launched a destructive strike at the United States' largest military base in the Pacific at that time. As a result, Japan seized the initiative in the Pacific war for a long time, and was able to seize the Philippines, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia in the subsequent 6 months. By mid-1942, Japan had occupied Chinese territory with a total area of 6 million square km and a total population of 400 million.

I wish to call your attention to the following fact: The Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 7 December carried an article entitled: The Lost Lesson of Pearl Harbor. The article notes that Japan will soon acquire 135 new-generation jet fighters. U.S. and Japanese corporations will cooperate in manufacturing these planes.

Recalling the historical lesson, my comments on this fact are as follows:

First, I wish to call your attention to a comparison of the figures. In December 1941, Japan used 131 planes to attack Pearl Harbor. Now, in our time, Japan's Air Force will increase by 135 ultramodern aircraft, manufactured jointly by Japan and the United States to reinforce the so-called Japanese Defense Forces. Now, the Japanese Air Force's striking power has exceeded its strength during World War II. Therefore, I must, using the historical lesson as a background, put the question: What is the purpose of the United States' attempt to revive Japanese militarism? Both Tokyo and Washington say it is necessary to strengthen Japan's defensive capabilities. Japan can play a greater role in obtaining interests from the Asia-Pacific region for the West.

Judging from the historical lesson and the actual situation in the Asia-Pacific region in our times, Japan's reason for strengthening its military forces is not worth refuting. In the final analysis, the military and political officials of the two countries will consider a military alliance to solve their international problems, like 40 or 50 years ago.

In the past, Japan was the United States' biggest rival in the Asia-Pacific region. What is the situation now? Washington is now convinced that a U.S.-Japan military alliance is the foundation of U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region. This is a strategy of forming a group to contend with another group. Its dangerous design is to set some countries and people in the Asia-Pacific region against another group of countries and people. The past strategy was to set this alliance against socialist countries

in the region, including the Soviet Union, China, and the DPRK. However, our times strongly call for giving up the former policy of confrontation. The Soviet Union firmly holds that various countries in the region, regardless of their social system, should work jointly to create a stable situation in the region for people of various countries, and to extensively establish peace and good-neighborly relations.

The Soviet proposals put forward in this respect are well known to the world. China is also prepared to jointly make efforts with other countries to turn the Pacific region into a zone of peace, friendship, and cooperation. Our country highly appreciates China's efforts.

Northeast Asia

MPR Papers Condemn Choibalsan Personality Cult
PM1412105588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Ye. Zhurabayev: "In the Mongolian Newspapers"]

[Text] A series of pointed publications exposing the personality cult of MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] Marshal Choibalsan, considered one of the founders of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], has appeared in the Mongolian press.

The questions of reinterpreting and objectively analyzing the historical path traveled by the country are now assuming particular significance, according to UNEN, the organ of the MPRP Central Committee. Bound by fraternal friendship, Mongolia and the Soviet Union have together survived all ordeals. Various CPSU forums have now given a true appraisal of Stalin's deeds. It is necessary, the newspaper emphasized, to show how Stalin's personality cult extended beyond the borders of a single state....

Proposals submitted by the MPRP Central Committee Politburo for the next party plenum conclude that the personality cult of Kh. Choibalsan led to serious violations of socialist legality.

During the thirties and forties, one of the main political tasks formulated by Choibalsan and his closest associates was expressed in the trenchant slogan: "Wage a ruthless struggle to tear spies, enemies of the people, and double-dealers from our society with steel tongs." The mass annihilation of Buddhist monks and party, state, and military cadres began.

In its turn, the Army newspaper ULAAN OD has carried an interview with D. Zagdgocho [name as published], who held the post of chief of administration in the country's Defense Ministry in the late forties. He recalled how the place of highly qualified military cadres who had been repressed was taken by barely literate,

ill-trained people, many of whom had previously served in the Internal Affairs Ministry. Arrests in the Army continued even during the battles at Halhin Gol.

The trade union newspaper HODOLMOR has pointed out that, in an attempt to concentrate the highest party and state power in his own hands, Kh. Choibalsan in 1937-39 slandered and destroyed a whole series of eminent party, trade union, and state officials. In this connection, the newspaper has called for the erection of a monument to the victims of Kh. Choibalsan's personality cult.

Scientific Cooperation Plan Signed With Japan
OW1512095588 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Tokyo, a protocol was signed on 7 December at the end of the 5-7 December meeting of the fifth session of the Soviet-Japan Scientific and Technological Cooperation Committee held in Tokyo. The protocol calls for expanding mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in science and technology.

The protocol was signed by Vice Chairman Mikhaylov of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, and Deputy Director Takehiro Togo of the Japanese Foreign Ministry's European and Oceanic Affairs Bureau.

Mikhaylov, chairman of the Soviet side's governmental committee responsible for this sector, said that a great step was taken in governmental-level bilateral cooperation in science and technology late last year. During the fourth session of the committee in Moscow, an agreement to cooperate in various fields such as agriculture, forestry, plasma physics, thermonuclear fusion, medicine, [words indistinct] and artificial hearts was reached for the first time with Japan. Cooperation has been undertaken in the form of an exchange of information, the holding of seminars, and the exchange of experts. The two countries agree to continue cooperation in the aforementioned fields and to further expand this relationship in the environmental protection and earthquake prediction fields. The Soviet side made a series of proposals concerning various fields in which cooperation can be undertaken. The Japanese delegation indicated its interest in scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union.

According to Vice Chairman Mikhaylov of the State Committee for Science and Technology, the programs for cooperation in science and technology for this year are currently being carried out, and the programs for next year will be expanded to include additional practical projects. Vice Chairman Mikhaylov, head of the

Soviet delegation, stated his conviction that the programs for cooperation in science and technology for next year—which are regarded as great achievements by the two countries—have made it possible to expand the range of the cooperation.

The sixth session is scheduled to be held in the Soviet Union in the fourth quarter of 1989.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam To Demobilize 'More Than 300,000' Troops
BK1512063688 Moscow International Service
in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Vietnam will demobilize more than 300,000 military personnel, among them a number of units belonging to the 6 (?divisions) currently present in Cambodia, which will be brought home in the coming days.

This was announced by a representative of the SRV Armed Forces command at a news conference held in Ho Chi Minh City on 13 December.

Analyst Views Soviet Policy in Asia
LD1412185388 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—By TASS news analyst Mikhail Yakovlev:

The Soviet Union's decision, announced from the United Nations rostrum, to unilaterally reduce its armed forces in the European and Asian parts of the country and withdraw part of its troops from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Mongolia won a broad response around the world.

This peace move was heartily welcomed in countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke said that the U.N. speech by the Soviet leader gave the world a chance for a marked reduction of conventional armaments at a time when we have been encouraged by progress in the process of nuclear arms reductions.

Implementation of the Soviet decision, Hawke said, would have a favourable effect also on the situation in Asia.

Asian and Pacific countries pointed out that the new Soviet initiatives are closely connected with the Soviet programme for security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Soviet Union announced it will not build up its nuclear weapons in the region and urged the United States to follow suit.

It also proposed discussing, on a multilateral basis, reduction of the level of military confrontation in areas where coasts of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea come close to one another, it came out for the convocation as soon as possible of an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and creation of a negotiating mechanism for considering any proposals on security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Peace moves by other socialist countries in Asia are in accord with the Soviet programme for peace and security in the region.

Mongolia's proposals for concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among Asian and Pacific countries and for creating an Asian disarmament and peace centre were welcomed in the region.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed steps toward the establishment of a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The government of that country has recently come out with a new initiative: It called for a stage-by-stage withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops and weapons, including nuclear, and demilitarisation of Korea's north and south.

Laos's proposal for making South East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship and cooperation, free from nuclear weapons, won wide acclaim.

This initiative, as well as proposals by Vietnam, Kampuchea and countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations on a peaceful and non-nuclear status for South East Asia, can promote a drive for turning Asia into a continent of peace and security.

The completion by the end of the year of the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea serves the same goals.

The favorable situation, shaping up around Kampuchea now, is paving way for a political settlement of the "Kampuchean problem."

Recent Soviet-Chinese talks in Moscow confirmed both countries' desire to seek an early, fair and rational settlement of the situation around Kampuchea.

Much effort is made to politically solve the issues of strengthening security and developing cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, and improve the situation in the interests of all countries located there.

Regrettably, the reaction to all these initiatives from such a big Pacific power as the United States has been far from favourable.

The Beijing-based newspaper RENMIN RIBAO said that Mikhail Gorbachev had actually confronted the United States and other Western countries with the choice: "We are disarming, and you?"

Take the issue of military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States, even without its allies, has a considerable superiority over the Soviet Union in all major naval armaments. Besides, it has nearly 30 military facilities there.

Washington constantly builds up its armed forces. The U.S. 7th fleet is adopting for service Tomahawk cruise missiles. The intensity and scope of U.S. naval exercises in the area from the Sea of Japan to the Bering Sea, in close proximity to the Soviet border, are growing.

Facts show that the U.S. is seeking not only to maintain its superiority in the region but increase it, apparently with a view to holding back demilitarisation of the Asia-Pacific region and preserving it as a zone of military-political confrontation.

However, the power politics concept, advocated by some people in Washington, is revealing more and more its untenability.

A growing number of politicians in the U.S. favour dialogue and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Asia, and call to respect their interests.

Force, the threat of force and the principle of overarmament must be replaced with a concept of non-violent world and the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defence and for solving complicated problems through dialogue and in the spirit of new political thinking.

Near East & South Asia

Petrovskiy Addresses UN Debate on Palestine
*LD1412202888 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1150 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Geneva, 14 Dec (TASS)—Removing contradictions and the explosive confrontation in the Middle East is one of the most important tasks on the agenda of the international body, a task whose solution is a part of the common efforts aimed at taking mankind into a qualitatively new, peaceful period of its development, said Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy. He was speaking today at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, which discussed the Palestinian issue.

The peace initiative advanced from this rostrum by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, he said, paves the way for solving the conflict, which has clouded the international situation for many years. By stating explicitly its readiness to enter talks with Israel within the framework of an international conference on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 and the wish to coexist with it under conditions of peace and security, and by condemning terrorism in all its forms, the PLO has reaffirmed that it is a serious and prestigious partner in the peaceful talks. It is now up to the other side. We urge everyone to take advantage of the unique chance and, sweeping aside stereotypes and prejudice, to immediately take the road of international dialogue for the purpose of attaining a comprehensive and just Middle East settlement, the Soviet spokesman said.

One can today state with satisfaction, Vladimir Petrovskiy said, that the outlines of an integral concept for untying the knot in the Middle East are being discerned in the international community. First, the international legal formula for a settlement based on the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and for ensuring the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination is shaping up. Until recently, the wide-ranging international agreement on these questions had not been sufficiently supported by the development of the positions of the parties directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We regard the conference as a universal and flexible forum which, in our view, is the most effective and reliable machinery for unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict. It offers the largest amount of various forums for cooperation among its participants. Representatives of all sides involved in the conflict, including the Arab people of Palestine led by their only legitimate representative, the PLO, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, could take part in the conference. He also noted that the diversity and urgency of the problem could call for some intermediary measures and steps on the way to the comprehensive settlement. However, such measures and stages should be regarded and implemented in the framework of the conference and in a manner linked to the comprehensive settlement. In this connection we see the decisions made at the latest session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers as substantive and highly beneficial for peace process in the Middle East. These decisions made a serious contribution to creating favorable conditions for a transition to practical steps in settling the Middle East conflict. The Soviet Union highly assessed the results of the top Palestinian forum in Algiers and supported the decision of the Palestine National Council to create a Palestinian state under the framework of a comprehensive Middle East settlement. Its central link is an international conference.

In conclusion, Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the present stage could either become a time of lost opportunities or mark the beginning of a principally new, peaceful period in mankind's development. This fully applies to the

Middle East situation. We are convinced that there is also emerging a unique chance to start moving toward peace in this region. It is important not to miss this chance; it is important to grasp without delay the novelty of the situation coming about in the world and to use it to the fullest to overcome the former stereotypes, to progress from rhetoric to calm, businesslike, and well-considered work on building a lasting and just peace in the ancient land of the Near East.

Holds Talks With 'Arafat

*LD1412i33988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1153 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Geneva, 4 Dec (TASS)—In the framework of the meetings of the 43d UN General Assembly session on the Palestinian question, a meeting was held on 14 December between V.F. Petrovskiy, deputy USSR foreign affairs minister, and Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The Soviet side expressed its high appreciation of the PLO leadership's constructive line, its practical action in the interests of a Near East settlement, and the positive potential of the resolutions from the Palestine National Council extraordinary session in Algiers in November. It was stressed in this connection that the "peaceful Palestinian initiative" put forward in the speech by Y. 'Arafat at the UN General Assembly again confirmed the role of the PLO as an authoritative and serious partner in peace talks. This created further grounds for an immediate move toward preparing for the convention of an international conference on the Near East, with the participation of Security Council permanent members and all sides directly involved, including Israel and the PLO, on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council ensuring the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. This favorable opportunity must not be missed. The ball is now in the United States and Israel's court.

Y. 'Arafat confirmed that the PLO intends to go on actively working to reach an all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a just solution of the key Palestinian problem, on the basis of a balance of interests of all the sides concerned, their equality, and their equal security. He expressed gratitude to the USSR for its consistent and firm support for the Palestinian people's struggle for their inalienable national rights.

Both sides favor further close Soviet-Palestinian coordination, including in the framework of the United Nations.

There were also conversations between V.F. Petrovskiy and Isidoro Malmierca and S. Andersson, the foreign ministers of Cuba and Sweden, and B. Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia. During these discussions the prospects for settlements of the Near East and other conflict and crisis situations were discussed, as

well as the growing UN role in strengthening peace and security on an all-embracing basis. Other questions of mutual interest were also discussed.

West Bank, Gaza Support 'Arafat Initiatives
LD1412162088 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Amman December 14 TASS—Massive manifestations in support of the initiatives advanced at the Geneva session of the United Nations General Assembly by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, have erupted on the Israel-occupied West Bank and in Gaza Strip.

On the eve of Yasir 'Arafat's speech the Israeli authorities resorted to "preventive measures" in order to prevent Arab demonstrations. Several West Bank areas were cordoned off. The major towns were declared closed military zones. Telephone communication with the outside world was cut off and the townfolk were forbidden to leave their homes. Army posts were set up on the roads. A curfew remains in force in the Gaza Strip inhabited by over 650 thousand Palestinian Arabs. No pressmen are allowed there. Electricity supply was interrupted in some areas when 'Arafat's speech was broadcast.

In spite of this, however, the population of the occupied lands turned out into the streets in reply to the call issued by the united leadership. Clashes between demonstrators and reinforced squads of the Israeli anti-riot police and army units have been reported from Tulqarm, Kalkilyah, Ramallah and Jenin. Plastic bullets and tear gas were used to disperse the crowds. At least fifteen persons were wounded and many have suffered from gas poisoning. Wholesale arrests have been carried out.

Al-Asad Lauds Gorbachev Speech, USSR Ties
PM1412151988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Evidence of Consistent Course"]

[Text] Damascus, 9 Dec—President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria has highly appraised the present state of Soviet-Syrian relations and the Soviet leadership's peace-loving course.

The president noted the exceptional importance of the UN speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which, in his words, offers vivid evidence of the Soviet Union's consistent course aimed at the easing of international tension, the strengthening of cooperation between the world community's countries, and the peaceful solution of regional conflicts. The Soviet leader's speech, H. al-Asad pointed out, contains ideas of universal importance which reflect the true essence of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

According to SANA, this statement was made today during a meeting between Syria's president and USSR Ambassador to Syria A.D. Dzasokhov, held to mark the conclusion of his mission to this country.

Changes in Algerian Political Scene Described
PM1412133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent S. Filatov: "Far-Reaching Decisions: Changes in Algeria's Political System"]

[Text] Algiers, 12 Dec—"The Front is open to all healthy forces." This phrase printed in large characters adorns the cover of the magazine REVOLUTION AFRICAINE. Until quite recently the legend "Central Organ of the National Liberation Front [FLN] Party" preceded the masthead, while it now reads "Central Organ of the National Liberation Front." The word party is no longer used.

The Sixth FLN Congress in November adopted a decision to transform the country's leading political organization from a party into a front, uniting in its ranks "all the healthy forces of the nation." This has become perhaps the central event in the republic's life in 1988, this very difficult year for Algeria.

The difficulties connected with the worsening economic crisis made the country's leadership appreciate as long ago as the end of last year the need for radical reforms in industry, agriculture, and the system of planning and managing the economy, but the tragic events of October, when social tension assumed the form of mass disturbances, clearly demonstrated the need for political changes.

The congress took place in the context of the reform agenda. It was the launchpad for extensive restructuring of the republic's political system, the aim of which is to democratize public life. Transformation of the ruling FLN party became its central element.

It should be said that it marks in a sense a return to source, since the FLN was created as a front of patriotic forces during the liberation struggle against French colonists. Subsequently, after the victory of the revolution, it acquired a party organizational structure. But, as the political resolution of the sixth congress points out, the party apparatus quickly slid into administrative activity, neglecting political work, which adversely affected the FLN's role in society.

An active exchange of opinions regarding the FLN's role and place in the country's life at the present stage developed in the weeks running up to the congress. The congress expressed itself unambiguously: It advocated pluralism of opinion within the Front's framework and opposed a multiparty system, which could, in delegates' opinion, endanger national unity and the fundamental

socialist choice made by Algeria. The development of democracy must be based on expansion of the Front itself and its renunciation of "monopoly power."

However, the definitive choice for or against the multi-party system must be made by the people themselves. Before the decision to create such a system is made, stated A. Mehri, chairman of the congress presidium and one of the FLN's leaders, we want the Front itself to begin operating successfully. And if necessary, the question will be submitted to a referendum.

Henceforth trade unions and public organizations will be independent of the FLN. The electoral system is radically changing—an unlimited number of candidates both from the FLN and outside it can aspire to any place in the organs of power when the next elections are held. The power and authority of elected organs of power—people's assemblies—are increasing as a whole. The congress set the task of creating a rule-of-law state, enhancing thereby the role of the courts, and establishing a constitutional council under the president to oversee observance of legislation.

The ideas enshrined in the congress decisions had, even before the congress was convened, been extensively reflected in the pages of the local press, which is playing a substantial role in expanding glasnost and establishing democratic principles.

The new law on information proposed by Algerian President C. Bendjedid will, it appears, be issued shortly. It is designed to consolidate the emerging trends and provide the conditions the press needs if it is to play an active part in "free and responsible" nationwide dialogue.

It is no exaggeration to say that the prospects for renewing the republic's political system, the sixth congress itself, and the far-reaching measures it took to create an atmosphere of free exchange of views and ideas, both within the FLN and in the country as a whole, have led to an unprecedented upsurge of public activity. And a basic theme is clearly heard through the babel—the theme of strengthening the gains of the Algerian revolution through developing democracy.

Bessmertnykh, Kuwaiti Envoy Discuss Relations
LD1512115188 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT
15 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, and Al-Du'ayj 'Abd al-Mohsen, Kuwaiti ambassador to the Soviet Union, discussed ways of developing bilateral relations and some aspects of the Middle East situation during their meeting on Thursday.

Bessmertnykh thanked the ambassador for his condolences on the earthquake in Soviet Armenia and Kuwait's aid to quake victims.

Commentary Views Shipping Facilities for Iran
NC1412101388 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, a convoy of vessels carrying Iran-bound cargo consignments has left for Bandar Anzali from the Soviet port of Kerch. The use of [words indistinct] type of vessels on this maritime route helps dispense with additional cargo handling and freight charges. In this manner, the transport of cargo bound for Bandar Anzali from Spain, for example, becomes twice as cheap for Iran.

Transporting Iran's transit cargo through this route assumed special importance in those difficult days for Iran when it was in the throes of war operations and economic embargoes. The transit of cargo to and from Iran via the Soviet Union increased in a short period of time and reached 3.4 million tons.

The transit staff takes charge of excess cargo which is intended for local industries and for units which are being set up in Iran with Soviet assistance. Now, with the increase in the scale of economic cooperation between Iran and the Soviet Union, the role of this transport waterway will also increase in importance. The issues of cooperation in transporting cargo via the Soviet Union were discussed at the 11th session of the permanent Soviet-Iranian joint commission.

It may be mentioned that as regards expansion of economic cooperation between Iran and the countries on the shores of the Danube River, a new shipping line has been set up for vessels of the (Liechterberg) Shipping Company, which provides facilities that make the transport of cargo consignments by other means unnecessary. At present, these cargo consignments are shipped via domestic routes in the Soviet Union directly to their ports of destination.

After a hiatus of quite some time, Iranian vessels have again entered Soviet ports and the Black Sea. The first Iranian vessel which entered the Soviet port of Odessa a few days ago was "Eqbal" of the Islamic Republic of Iran's shipping company, which brought 40,000 tons of wheat from Argentina. By the end of the current year, some more Iranian ships will visit the Soviet ports on the Black Sea.

Khan's Election as Pakistani President Noted
PM1412150588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Pakistan: Ghulam Ishaq Khan Becomes President"]

[Excerpts] Islamabad, 13 Dec—Pakistanis learned the name of the country's new president late last night.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan was elected head of state for a 5-year term by the electoral college in a secret ballot. [passage omitted]

Ghulam Ishaq Khan's impressive victory was due to support from the country's two largest political forces—the Pakistan People's Party headed by present Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and the Islamic Democratic Alliance. According to incoming news reports, the new president's candidacy is also backed by the Pakistani Army, which traditionally exerts a major influence in Pakistan. There was an especially positive assessment here of Ghulam Ishaq Khan's activity as acting head of state following the death of former President General Ziaul Haq in an air crash 17 August 1988. He consistently adhered to a course of democratic transformations.

West Europe

Thatcher Approval of Gorbachev Address Cited
*LD1412182288 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT
14 Dec 88*

[Text] London December 14 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has hailed Soviet leader's U.N. address as very fundamental and very welcome.

"I was very interested in Mr Gorbachev's speech, it seemed to me to go further than any others of his had gone although those were, as you know, very fundamental and, of course, what he had to say about reductions in conventional arms was very welcome indeed," she said in an interview with Soviet television.

"Those of us who hold responsibility at the top of politics believe we hold our power as a trust for the people. Our power is a trust to do our very best for them in accordance with their expressed wishes but also to give a lead, as I think Mr Gorbachev has," Thatcher went on.

Speaking of her attitude to the tragedy that has befallen Armenia, the British head of government said: "As soon as we heard of the terrible tragedy, we were anxious to do what we could to help. I heard about it very eagerly in the morning, the same time as I heard that Mr Gorbachev could not come.

"We were deeply sad that he is not able to be with us, understood perfectly the reason and that we must spring into action ourselves because when you have something, such a terrible tragedy as that, you need help from all over the world."

"I think it was a very good example that there is something which binds us all together, deeper than the things which divide," Thatcher said.

Thatcher Interviewed on Aid, Gorbachev Speech
*LD1412225388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by correspondent Vsevolod Shishkovskiy, in London—date not given; questions and answers in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Shishkovskiy] Thank you very much for this opportunity to have a further meeting with you at 10 Downing Street. Prime Minister, you were among the first leaders in Western Europe to respond to the tragedy in Armenia.

[Thatcher] As soon as we heard of this terrible tragedy we immediately decided to do everything we could to give assistance. I heard about it early in the morning at the same time as the news that Mr Gorbachev would not be able to make his official visit to Britain. And although we are very sorry that we were unable to receive him, we fully understood the reason why he was forced at the present time to give up his trip here. We also understood that we needed to act without delay. After all, when such terrible tragedies occur, the victims need assistance from the whole world.

As you know, this is how we acted. We have tried to act in accordance with your requirements and requests. Every day aircraft have been leaving London carrying specialists in rendering assistance and rescuers who can find people under the ruins. We have sent medical supplies, equipment, warm clothing, and other things. In the last few days we have been dispatching artificial kidney machines. This is all in line with the British tradition of rendering assistance to those that are in trouble. This was so after the earthquake in Mexico, during the drought and famine in Ethiopia, and after the hurricane struck Jamaica.

But this latest tragedy is without doubt particularly grave. I agree with Mr Gorbachev that all barriers collapse when people are in need and trouble. I think that this has been a very true example of the fact that what unites us is always much deeper than what separates us.

[Shishkovskiy] Allow me to ask how you see the world in light of Gorbachev's recent speech at the UN General Assembly.

[Thatcher] I acquainted myself with Mr Gorbachev's speech with great interest. It seems to me that it was on an even grander scale than his previous speeches, and they, as one knows, were of a fundamental character. We of course welcome what was said regarding the reduction of conventional arms, but I found other sections of the speech interesting too. For instance, the section where the talk was of the need for freedom of choice. This is a tremendous step forward. Of great importance, too, are

the provisions that fundamental human rights should be reinforced by impartial laws. It seems to me that this is all a sign of big changes. I hope from the bottom of my heart that the people of the Soviet Union will implement them.

You know, in politics there may be excellent strategists, but in order to implement the various transformations that are essential it is necessary to have the support of the people. Those of us who are vested with political power know that it has been entrusted to us by the people, and this power must be used for the good of people in accordance with the wishes expressed by them, and to give a lead, as I think Mr Gorbachev is doing. But I think that the people of the Soviet Union naturally want to have the very highest standard of living. Therefore, they cannot spend so much on armaments. They want to have more consumer goods. These are big changes, and they demand bold and insistent efforts. Many people have confidence in this and are ready to do everything necessary to achieve a high living standard. As you know, in my political convictions I proceed from the view that, whatever the differences are on both sides of Europe, we must always strive to extend to each other the hand of friendship, and we are doing so.

[Shishkovskiy] Finally, what would you like to say to Soviet people on the occasion of the coming New Year?

[Thatcher] The Christmas festivities are starting in our country. For us they are also overcast by our own tragedy—a rail crash which took 36 human lives and many persons injured. Many people are now also extending assistance to them. At this time of year our thoughts always turn to the never-changing values. At this time of year one feels that our planet needs peace and the individual [needs] kindness. It is with these thoughts that I want to convey my warmest wishes to the Soviet people, wish them a Happy Christmas and a good New Year, and remember that our world needs peace and the individual needs kindness.

Gorbachev Condolences to Thatcher on Rail Crash
PM1512110088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on London rail crash]

[Text] To British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Esteemed Mrs Thatcher!

I was distressed by the sad news about the railroad disaster near London, which cost human lives.

In our grief over the tragedy in Armenia, we take to heart particularly the pain and suffering of others, and we feel intensely the full significance of human solidarity.

Please accept my deep condolences, Mrs Thatcher, and convey the most sincere sympathy to the victims and the families and relatives of those who died.

M. Gorbachev

Official Advocates Nuclear Cooperation With FRG
AU1412161588 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
14 Dec 88 p 1

[Heinz Heck: "Moscow Wants To Restrict the Development of Nuclear Power; Increased Cooperation With German Firms"]

[Text] Bergisch Gladbach—The Soviet Union wants to reduce its ambitious nuclear power development program after the reactor accident at Chernobyl. However, the basic attitude toward nuclear power has not changed. This was stated by Aleksandr N. Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy, at a news conference in the Siemens subsidiary Interatom.

In the development of high-temperature reactors and the safety of nuclear power plants, Moscow pins its hopes on increased scientific-technological cooperation with the FRG. Only in October, two German enterprises concluded a general contract on cooperation in the planning and construction of high-temperature reactors.

According to him, the power supply in the Armenian earthquake area is presently only being maintained by the Oktemberyan nuclear power plant, since one of the country's biggest oil power plants broke down because of the earthquake.

Until Chernobyl, Moscow had planned to extend the nuclear power capacity to approximately 150,000 megawatts (five times as much as in 1985) by the year 2000. The program is being revised and the new plans will be presented soon, he said. Apparently, the Soviet Union has difficulties in choosing sites. Since the accident, neither a new site has been determined nor a new project started.

The Soviet Union is greatly interested in the modular design high-temperature reactor. "Dozens, even hundreds of them" could be installed. However, we will also build the conventional pressurized water reactor in the future. Only the Chernobyl type will no longer be built.

Many questions are still open concerning cooperation with German firms. An agreement is hoped to be reached after 2 or 3 months. By the turn of the century, modular design high-temperature reactors with a smaller capacity (together approximately 250 megawatts) are to be built; then the importance of this type will be determined. For reasons of foreign exchange alone, Moscow is interested in accomplishing as much as possible itself with the high-temperature reactors that are planned for use in Siberia as well as in other East Bloc countries.

Kapitsa Meets With Cypriot Parliamentarians
*NC1412182688 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek
1730 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] The high-level parliamentary delegation, led by House of Representatives President Vasos Lissaridhis, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, started talks with Soviet officials today. The delegation visited the chairmen of the Supreme Soviet Councils, with whom it discussed matters related to the operation of the two bodies.

The delegation also conferred with the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries. While speaking during the meeting, Committee Chairman Mikhail Kapitsa referred to the conditions that have been created for the solution of regional problems. He added that ways must be found to strengthen the committee's contribution toward the unification of Cyprus and for the solution of its problem. We must, he added, encourage the UN's role with regard to the Cyprus issue, and we must exert pressure on the United States to contribute toward a Cyprus solution.

Speaking during the meeting, Lissaridhis stressed that if the intercommunal dialogue is to succeed, pressure must be directed at Turkey so that it will change its position because, as he added, the talks, fundamentally, are being conducted between Cyprus and Turkey.

During the meeting, members of the Cyprus delegation submitted recommendations for promoting the Cyprus issue as a regional problem which could be discussed between the two superpowers.

Kapitsa gave assurances that he will pass on these recommendations to the Central Committee and to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communist Party Announces Congress
*PY0712174588 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Report on news conference by PCCh spokesmen to release document calling 15th PCCh Congress, held in Santiago on 6 December]

[Text] A daring, innovative, and real attitude is needed now to bring about a renovation and a development of our ability, if we are to face the great challenge to the role of the party, its leading cadres, and its militant bases, and if we are to attain a blend of continuity and change that will erase all vestiges of bureaucraticism, conservatism, and dogmatism. The 15th Congress of the Communist Party should become a contribution by the Communists to the people's struggle to end fascism and to recover democracy. This objective should be achieved through a struggle for democracy and people's rights.

Those are the terms of the document which announces the most important event for Chilean Communists. The document was made public at 1500 today at a news conference held at the El Libertador Hotel by PCCh leaders Americo Zorrilla, Jose Sanfuentes, Guillermo Sherping, and Mireya Baltra. The document stresses that it will be up to the congress to define policy development for popular mass rebellion, and particularly its permanent elements. This definition should be based on accumulated practical experiences, and on the in-depth evaluation of the new realities in the domestic and international situation, bearing in mind its main trends.

Regarding the present situation, the document released by the Communist spokesmen contends that the dictatorship's defeat at the plebiscite has opened favorable conditions for putting an end to the tyranny and for making advances toward democracy. The plebiscite results, the document says, dealt a hard blow to Pinochet's plans to perpetuate himself in power. Those results expressed the people's rejection to the dictatorship, its timetable for democratization, and its institutional order. Moreover, the plebiscite results were the outcome of the heroic and all-around struggle by the people during these past years. Other factors also contributed to this outcome, the Communists say, such as international public attention, the presence of hundreds of foreign journalists and observers, and the counting of votes through a computerized system.

The document then asserts that the PCCh, together with other revolutionary and democratic forces, has made all possible efforts to end the dictatorship as fast as possible. The PCCh has tried to force the dictator out of government through a resolute popular rebellion of massive proportions. The present course of political affairs in the country does not invalidate that proposal as long as the dictatorship continues and Pinochet remains in power. Today, the situation calls for a relentless struggle until democracy is fully recovered. This struggle must emphasize the mobilization and participation of the masses.

Summing up, those are the terms of the call to the 15th Communist Congress, the preliminary proceedings of which have already begun at grassroot levels with discussions of topics such as international politics, the Popular Unity period of government, and the restoration of a fascist dictatorship. The PCCh, the document reads, has made great efforts to lead the opposition down the road of resolute confrontation, steadily raising the level of the mass struggle. We have denounced the anti-democratic and fraudulent character of the preparations for the plebiscite; we have tried to make the people aware of the limitations implied in an electoral struggle, and we have promoted the people's involvement in social mobilization.

The PCCh policy of rebellion, the document adds, was tested in discussions at the party leadership and grass-roots levels. There were temporary viewpoint differences that were occasionally reflected in the public statements

of our spokesmen. The document adds that the PCCh decided to enter the electoral arena, and has actively participated in the campaign leading to the plebiscite. This was a good decision. It was adopted when broadly radicalized sectors of the people became aware of the need to step into that arena. Nobody can fault us for this political work. As the situation shifted, we decided to call on the people to vote no. Consistent with our position of opposition to the dictatorship, the PCCh spread the "no" vote slogan until victory was attained, and actively tried to prevent the "yes" vote from being imposed on the nation, which would have been a consummate fraud. The "no" vote until victory slogan was chanted by large sectors.

The PCCh document says that all the democratic forces contributed to the victory of the opposition at the plebiscite: The Sixteen Parties Coalition for No-Vote, the United Left, the National Party headed by German Riesco, and the independent oppositionists.

The joint action of the united opposition behind a common objective, and the democratic awareness of the Chilean people, were the decisive factors of that victory. The PCCh, the document adds, contributed to the mass mobilization, ensuring the victory of the "no" vote and to its recognition by the regime.

Referring to the post-plebiscite situation, the PCCh document says that the final solution has not yet been achieved because Pinochet is still holding to power and insists that the timetable of the 1980 Constitution must be complied with. Consequently, the document says, we must be ready to confront and frustrate that or any similar plan.

At the news conference granted today at the El Libertador Hotel, the Communists will continue to be at the forefront in resolving the dilemma of dictatorship or democracy—either tyranny or an advanced democratic regime. If an advanced democracy is not possible, and a bourgeois democracy is the other choice, the outcome will still represent, beyond its defects and limitations, an undeniable and important advance over the current fascist regime.

After all, the documents asserts, there is no doubt that a bourgeois democracy will still be an accomplishment for the people, and it will only be made possible by their struggle. Moreover, the need for a mass uprising and a national rebellion can at any time come to the fore, regardless of changes in the situation in the future and the level of popular struggle at that time.

The PCCh policy of popular rebellion is still valid, and it must be developed in the various areas in which the opposition to the dictatorship can act without contradicting the final goal.

This is a report on the news conference held today by the PCCh, in which they call followers to the 15th National Congress which will be held for the purpose of achieving democracy, giving it a more advanced form, and stating that the unity of the people is fundamental. In subsequent programs, we will air the complete text of the document released to the local and foreign press at the news conference held in Santiago.

Moscow Airls Part One

PY0912005288 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT
7 Dec 88

[Text] The PCCh Central Committee has made public a document calling for the 15th National Congress, an event that is already underway throughout the country. This will be the congress agenda: a political report from the Central Committee, reform of the statutes, election of a Central Committee, and resolutions. In developing the National Congress, the announcement says, we had to promote the assembly of cells, local congresses, and regional congresses, and to ensure their democratic character. The 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of Chile will be held amid the struggle for democracy and the people's rights.

Beginning today, Moscow in Spanish to Chile will air the full text of the Central Committee's document entitled: To Restore and Deepen Democracy: the Unity of the People Until Victory, which is the slogan of the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of Chile.

A daring, innovative, and honest attitude is needed now to bring about a renovation and development of our ability, if we are to face the great challenge to the role of the party, its leading cadres, its militant bases, and if we are to attain our blend of continuity and change that will erase all vestiges of bureaucratism, conservatism, and dogmatism. Our congress and its proceedings should be decidedly critical and self-critical. These Leninist criteria for the party's activities should be reclaimed and reincorporated. With such criteria, we will have to assess the political role and the external relations of the party in the 19 years since our previous congress, which was held in November 1969. The point is to evaluate the party's activities, particularly those of its leading cadres, and to evaluate the accommodations it had to make at various times to meet new and complex exigencies.

Such an assessment should make it possible to recognize the historical successes, achievements, and merits, as well as to pinpoint the errors, flaws, and distortions that slow down our vanguard movement. It will be up to the congress to define the policy for popular mass rebellion, particularly its permanent elements. This definition should be based on accumulated practical experiences, and on the in-depth evaluation of the new realities and main trends of the domestic and international situation. To this effect, it will be necessary to activate more fully the creative capacity of the whole party, its practical and theoretical capacity. This can be done by strengthening

the relations of the leaderships—and of all our organizations—with the masses. It is indispensable to move ahead in defining the changes required in all areas of the nation's life and in providing a stronger foundation for the strategic objective—namely achieving an advanced democracy leading to socialism.

It is necessary, the document adds, to update the programs of the PCCh. The new Central Committee elected by the congress will have to devise and propose such updated programs. Our party must qualitatively upgrade its political and theoretical action, its leadership ability, its democratic methods to exercise that leadership, and all its activities. The party should make an all-out effort to assume fully its responsibilities, which are today centered on the need to end the fascist dictatorship and to restore democracy.

The Central Committee calls on all the party membership to participate in the preparation and celebration of the 15th National Congress.

The first point referred to in the document calling for the 15th National Congress is the present domestic and international situation. This congress will be held amid a new domestic political situation that was brought about by the heroic all-out struggle by the people during these past years of dictatorship. The ruling dictatorial regime was defeated at the plebiscite, and that defeat created favorable conditions to put an end to the tyranny and to advance toward democracy. The plebiscite results dealt a hard blow to Pinochet's plans to perpetuate himself in power, and they expressed the people's rejection of the dictatorship, its timetable for democratization, and its institutional order. These results demonstrated the democratic aspirations of the majority of Chileans.

During the pre-plebiscite period, a broad and difficult mass struggle was waged, which brought forth once more the maturity, discipline, and combativeness of the people. These qualities became the cardinal factors in frustrating the fraud and the electoral maneuvers as well as in thwarting the plot the dictator and his most aggressive supporters had hatched for the night of 5 October. In spite of the work of the obstructionists, divisionists, and some of the opposition, and in spite of recalcitrant anti-communist attitudes, the joint action of all democratic forces made the great triumph at the plebiscite possible. Other factors also contributed to this outcome, such as the international public attention focused on Chile, the presence of hundreds of foreign journalists and observers during the plebiscite, and the computerized system used to count votes.

The PCCh, together with other revolutionary and democratic forces, has made all possible efforts to end the dictatorship as fast as possible. It has tried to force the dictator out of government through a resolute popular rebellion of massive proportions. Despite the present course of political affairs in the country, those efforts will still be needed for as long as the dictatorship continues

and Pinochet remains in power. Today, the situation still calls for a relentless struggle until democracy is fully restored. This struggle must emphasize the mobilization and participation of the masses.

The international situation is characterized by an improved climate of peace and cooperation to solve the world's problems. The anti-imperialist struggle for liberation by the Latin American peoples and those of other continents contributes to this climate. In turn, the struggle is helped by the international climate. Millions of men and women, the majority of mankind, want peace and understanding to prevail among nations, despite their political or ideological differences. They understand that the internationalization of economic, political, and social activities, and the interdependence of nations, call for the creation of mechanisms based on consensus to guarantee the fate of the human race.

The scientific and technological revolution, the development of progressive forces, the new colonial exploitation, the greed of the transnational companies, and the competition among imperialist powers pose serious problems for the natural biophysical balance of life on our planet. Mankind demands answers and solutions for the great ecological issues: the disposal of nuclear waste, the threat to the ozone, the hothouse effect of carbon dioxide emissions, the availability of food and energy, the drama of millions of people, and the ethical questions posed by the advances of biogenetics.

Tomorrow on this program, you will be able to listen to the complete text of the document calling the 15th National Congress of the PCCh, the proceedings of which are already underway at the grassroot level throughout the country. This congress will meet under the slogan "To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory."

Moscow Airs Part Two

*PY1012021388 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT
8 Dec 88*

[Text] As we announced yesterday, today we continue to air the second part of the document calling the people to the 15th PCCh National Congress, already under way throughout the country. This document prepared by the Central Committee, which serves as a basis for discussion among all party militants, is entitled "To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory," which is also the congress' slogan. Yesterday we began to read the first subsection, subtitled: The Current Domestic and International Situation. Let us continue to read the first subsection of this extensive document calling the people to the 15th PCCh National Congress.

In the Soviet Union, profound changes are taking place to further democracy and socialism. These changes have to fight, amid an acute political struggle, the conservative trends entrenched in Soviet society and the manifestation of narrow nationalism in some of the member

republics. These changes, called restructuring and glasnost, imply a renewal in all areas of national life. They are shaking up Soviet society and have substantially contributed to the improved climate of peace in the world. This renewal in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries seeks to open new avenues for man's full freedom by correcting distortions and removing obstacles in order to expand the possibilities of socialism, both on the internal front and in its international role. The neo-global and imperialist policy took a setback of historical importance with the signing of agreements on short- and medium-range missiles between the two major powers.

Capitalism's current general crisis, which is part of a crisis of structures and regulations, has revealed the limitations of U.S. imperialism in continuing to impose its hegemony on the world stage. The emergence of other imperialist centers of world power, such as the EEC and Japan, has promoted contradictions which, although based on economic competition, are reflected in the political arena as well. The disarray in the capitalist system shifts the brunt of the effects of its crises on the developing countries, thus increasing their exploitation by multinational and neo-colonial enterprises. The Latin American countries, except Cuba and Nicaragua, are held hostage to the world's capitalist economy, which permits the crisis to deepen and the multinational corporations to gain ground. The results of this phenomenon can be seen in the lack of ability by these countries to meet, within their own means, the basic needs of their populations. They are saddled with a foreign debt of more than \$400 billion, the squandering of their resources and raw materials, unprecedented exploitation, hunger, poverty, unemployment, the elimination of production processes in which a sector of the working class is engaged, and the impoverishment of petit bourgeoisie and middle-class bourgeoisie. At the same time, a smaller number of capitalists are amassing wealth in excess. In other words, there has been a mounting trend of a polarization between the majority of society and the dominant classes and sectors, whose interests are increasingly linked to those of the transnational corporations.

Given the strategic importance the region has for the United States, U.S. imperialism has made, as part of its neo-global policy, the decision to contain and, if possible, to destroy the communist parties and other revolutionary movements in Latin America. It has set out to reverse the triumphant revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua. It has also tried to disperse the Christian Movement for People's Liberation and to infiltrate our labor organizations and political parties, the intellectual groups, the youth groups and, of course, the Armed Forces. Conscious of the retreating fascist and dictatorial trends in the continent, U.S. imperialism now poses as a champion of democracy, all the time, however, trying to undermine authentic democracy everywhere, by fomenting the division of the popular forces. Anti-communism is the cornerstone of this policy of U.S. imperialism.

Despite the efforts of imperialism, the revolutionary states of Cuba and Nicaragua have been consolidated. The Cuban revolution has completed 30 years of firm resistance to imperialism, building socialism and showing an internationalist spirit. El Salvador continues to fight valiantly for its liberation. The progressive movement is gaining momentum in the continent; the advanced Christian movement continues to develop; democratic advances have been made in various countries. Examples of these trends are the electoral victory of the leftist forces in Brazil and the moves by countries and governments to become autonomous from the United States. Further proof lies in the Contadora Group, the Esquipulas Accord, the Group of the Eight Presidents, the independent stance of Panama, and other such moves.

Those moves, added to the lessened U.S. sway in Latin America as compared to the influence of Japan and the EEC, have weakened U.S. imperialism's capability to intervene in and impose on Latin America. At the same time, unfavorable socio-economic situations can be observed in various Latin American countries ruled by bourgeois democratic governments. This results from the inability of those governments to bring about real changes in the old structures. The crisis continues to be borne by the popular sectors, with the implicit risk of restoration of reactionary military regimes. Faced with the transnational capitalist model, which subordinates the interests and needs of the peoples to the big-money men, the region has the alternative of a democratic, popular, and anti-imperialist revolution.

The underlying causes for this revolution will ripen in more concrete conditions. More objective factors, depending on the particular situation of each country, will have to come into play so the revolution can take place. The recent gathering of South American communist parties focused on these conditions and factors in its discussions and conclusions.

The Communists reaffirmed their commitment to permanently contributing to the maintenance of world peace, the self-determination of peoples, the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, and the peaceful solution of international conflicts. We are also in solidarity with national liberation struggles of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, and with the common Latin American struggle, especially that of Nicaragua and El Salvador. We equally condemn and denounce apartheid, Zionism, and racism. Communists also actively support the search for solutions to world problems and to large issues bearing on the fate of mankind. We favor the creation of a Palestinian state, and we call for a united effort by Latin American countries to address the problem of the foreign debt. Likewise, we defend the reduction of arms expenditures in order to devote resources to meeting the most pressing needs of our peoples.

This has been part II of the document that will serve as the basis for debates at the 15th PCCh National Congress. Radio Moscow is carrying this document in full in its programs. Tomorrow, we will continue to air this important document, specifically its second subsection, subtitled: The Experience of the Popular Unity Government.

CPSU Greets Colombian Communists' Congress
PM1412130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message to Colombian Communist Congress]

[Text] To the 15th Communist Party of Colombia [PCC] Congress.

Dear Comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends cordial greetings to the delegates of the 15th PCC Congress and wishes them fruitful work.

Your party is operating in difficult, unique conditions, firmly defending the vital interests of working people and the entire people of Colombia, pursuing a principled line on the most important present-day issues, and consistently adhering to anti-imperialist positions. Together with all other patriotically minded Colombians, the Communists are resolutely opposed to the violence perpetrated by reaction and are in favor of the achievement of a just and genuinely democratic peace in the country and the homeland's development along the lines of national independence and progress.

The Soviet Union highly values your support for the revolutionary restructuring which is under way here, the purpose of which is to effect the qualitative renewal of socialism and comprehensively reveal its advantages. Restructuring has also imparted new dynamism to Soviet foreign policy and enriched it with new ideas.

The international climate is undergoing favorable changes at the moment. The first positive changes are already in evidence in various areas of world politics. With the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles the process of real nuclear disarmament has begun, and this is in the interests of all the peoples of the world. The CPSU, acting constructively, in the spirit of the new political thinking, will spare no effort to release mankind from the threat of destruction, to save terrestrial civilization.

The CPSU and PCC are linked by long-standing ties of sincere and strong friendship. Soviet Communists will continue to express solidarity with their Colombian comrades' struggle. We wish the fraternal PCC success in solving the tasks facing it on the basis of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist teaching in conditions of the profound changes that have engulfed the modern world.

May friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and PCC and between the Soviet and Colombian peoples grow stronger!

CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

Minister Batalin on Armenian Reconstruction

LD1512122988 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT
15 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—It is planned to rehabilitate and rebuild the earthquake-devastated towns and villages of Armenia within two years.

Yuri Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said, in an interview published in STROY-TELNAYA GAZETA today, that a total amount of capital investments for these purposes is tentatively estimated at 5,000 million roubles. About five million square metres of housing are to be rehabilitated or rebuilt in the towns of Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, Akhuryan, and in the countryside. All Soviet republics are to participate in the work. Specific targets for amounts and period of construction are being drawn up now for each republic.

Touching upon the town of Spitak which was totally flattened by the earthquake, Yuri Batalin said specialists and, first of all, seismologists are yet to determine whether the town should be rebuilt on the old site.

For example, it is intended to build approximately two thousand cottages and all necessary social and cultural facilities at a distance of 15-20 km away from quake-hit Leninakan. It is mainly families with many children that will live there. At the same time a neighbourhood for 80,000 residents is to be built near Leninakan on a vacant territory. Seismic-resistant three-four storey houses made mainly from Armenian Tufa with monolithic belts will be built there. The country's best architects are now working on house projects for those areas.

Nationalist Strife Exacerbates Armenian Problems

Karabakh Group Condemned

LD1412145088 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Sixty-five countries and UNESCO lent a helping hand to Soviet Armenia after the devastating earthquake, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that 1,702 foreign specialists were working in Armenia's stricken regions. 95 planes from 32 countries brought medication, equipment, machinery and prime necessities and experts. 65 aircraft landed in Yerevan and Leninakan.

"The Armenian people feel profound gratitude for the international assistance and aid coming from all republics and regions of the Soviet Union," the newsmen were told by Eduard Aikazyan, permanent representative of the Armenian Government at the USSR Council of Ministers.

According to his estimates, 700,000 people were affected by the quake.

500,000 people need housing. Pre-fabricated thermally insulated houses are being built. Tents are being brought into the area, and all 4,000 places at holiday homes and health-building centres in Armenia have been set aside for the population from the affected regions.

Neighbouring republics have offered to admit quake victims at their holiday homes.

Replying to questions about the activity of the so-called Karabakh Committee, the Armenian Government representative said: "At a time when all Armenian people are directing their effort at eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, some people are seeking to raise issues of inter-ethnic relations and thus divert attention from the solution of the principal problem.

"This behaviour deserves condemnation."

Speaking about cases of looting and other criminal offences in the disaster area, Aikazyan admitted that "there have been people who showed greed for gain despite the people's tragedy."

He announced that "active measures have been adopted to prevent crime in those regions." Crime had been "totally stopped" there at present, he added.

"I have no fresh facts about crimes in addition to those reported in the Soviet press the other day," Aikazyan pointed out.

Editorial Criticizes Demonstrators

NC1512091488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 15 Dec 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] We would like to draw your attention to the editorial article entitled "During These Decisive Days and Nights."

It says in part: There aren't enough words to explain how difficult the situation in our republic has become after the earthquake of such unprecedented force that struck the northern areas of Armenia. The dead and crippled run into tens of thousands and there are half a million without shelter, work, or school. On this background of universal concern and people's sorrow, states the paper, the demonstration held by certain leaders of the Karabakh Committee sounded like a harsh discordant note.

In these tense days, so full of cares, how could they bring people out on the streets and attempt to set the army against the people, knowing full well that without the army and the selfless hard work of the soldiers, the volunteers in the disaster area would have had a very, very difficult time?

What are the limits of this unscrupulousness, this stupidity and narrow-mindedness? And who if not we should resist them in the name of the memory of the innocent victims, in the name of the future of our long-suffering, talented people?

Yerevan Commandant on 'Renegades'

LD1412195388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 14 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondent has been speaking to Albert Mikhaylovich Makashov, commandant of Yerevan Special District:

[Begin recording] [Makashov] There is a need to maintain law and order at a time when many are prey to emotion and panic. That is why the curfew is still needed. At the same time, at this very difficult period for the republic and for the whole country, there remains a bunch of renegades who do not love their people and who only pay lip service to concern for their people and simultaneously continue their ignoble policy—that is how I would term it—toward their own people. Thousands of people uprooted from their homes, refugees and homeless evacuees, are now cursing both the Karabakh Committee and the hour when they came up with their slogans. Who needs it? That is why it remains necessary to maintain the curfew.

During these most difficult days, when all of the people and the entire country are working to find the injured—we have been dragging the living and the injured from the ruins even today—attempts to hold rallies and demonstrations and to spread obvious falsehood and disinformation are still with us in the city of Yerevan. That is why the law enforcement bodies and the Soviet Army still need to do a lot of work here. And with the help of all ordinary people, of the Soviet authorities [Sovetskaya vlast], of veterans, and of internationalist troops we are imposing order and we shall do everything in our power to ensure that the city is and remains tranquil.

[Correspondent] What steps are being taken against the instigators of these disorders, Albert Mikhaylovich?

[Makashov] The most serious measures prescribed by law, specifically by law. The law is the same for everyone. [end recording] [video shows Makashov and correspondent speaking in an office]

Official on 'Forces of Evil'

PM1412195388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.S. Dubinyak chief of staff of the Internal Troops, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent: "Against the Backdrop of the Tragedy"; date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs subunits were the first to arrive in the parts of Armenia hit by the destructive force of the earthquake. Firefighters, servicemen, operational staff, without a thought for themselves, poured in to help people....

[Correspondent] However, even during the first day after the terrible tragedy it became obvious that the situation in a number of rayons in Armenia and Azerbaijan will make it necessary to recall the military subunits (and consequently also equipment and mechanisms) so badly needed in the disaster area. What made this necessary?

[Dubinyak] Yes, it is true, there are people who are trying to destabilize the situation: which had, finally, begun to normalize. It has become clear that even such a terrible tragedy as that which has hit not only Armenia but our entire Soviet people has not been able to push into the background, even temporarily, their ambitious plans and subversive, extreme nationalist aims. On the border with Armenia equipment dispatched by the people of Azerbaijan has gotten "stuck." On the other hand, the complex situation prevailing in areas with a mixed population from both republics has not eased. The fact that in a number of places in Azerbaijan—it does not bear thinking about!—"congratulatory cables" were concocted and dispatched to the neighbors... could not fail to add fuel to the flames. Some people even celebrated the tragedy.

[Correspondent] We have also seen similar telegrams from the other side, doubting the Azerbaijanis' "sincerity in wanting to help."

[Dubinyak] Naturally it is a question of unscrupulous renegades, rather than the two peoples as a whole. However, I repeat, these renegades have been whipping up tension.... And they are doing so even now. They are being assisted in this by the Armenian Council of Ministers' extremely poor organization of the stock-taking of the goods that are arriving.

[Correspondent] As far as we know, a number of organizers of provocations in Yerevan have been detained. PRAVDA reported this yesterday. Nonetheless, drivers' delivery notes still sport the stamp of the long-banned "Karabakh" committee. Does this mean that its members are trying to place themselves above Soviet laws?

[Dubinyak] Precisely. Incidentally, they are stamping the notes with a specific purpose in mind. After all, it is necessary somehow to demonstrate their "involvement" in the nationwide efforts of the entire Soviet people. That is why they are stamping these documents, as if it were they who are sending the goods to the quake-stricken area, as if it were not the party but the "Karabakh" committee that is directing the rescue effort. A dirty farce against the backdrop of the tragedy... And, of course, hearsay, rumors, and fabrications abound again. Methods that have been rehearsed over the past 9 months.

[Correspondent] What exactly?

[Dubinyak] People connected with the "Karabakh" committee are spreading rumors alleging that the Army and Ministry of Internal Affairs troops are using the situation in order to completely enslave Armenia. They are saying that the soldiers are not working with shovels but with their rifle butts.

[Correspondent] However, is it not true that at the moment considerable forces are having to be diverted to perform law enforcement functions?

[Dubinyak] Here are a few facts and figures: Within a relatively short spell, R130,511 worth of valuables has been confiscated from criminals detained—and certainly not by "Karabakh" committee members—in the Spitak and Kirovakan areas. Private V. Bushlakov confiscated R30,000 from one such criminal alone....

[Correspondent] Are these marauders?

[Dubinyak] No, only during wars are there marauders. However, as to the degree of their depravity, they are marauders. More than 150 of them have been identified. In all we have already returned valuables worth more than R250,000. There is clearly no need to explain the purpose and nature of our men's service. I would just like to add that they—and I am referring only to the Internal Troops subunits—have pulled from the rubble and rescued 656 people. And that while also guarding vitally important installations whose number runs into three figures.... And they are patrolling more than 50 routes.

Incidentally, our comrades have not heard a single insult from the Armenians currently working in the earthquake-stricken area, who can see everything for themselves, who live by hard peasant labor, and who with their worldly wisdom are perfectly capable of distinguishing between truth and lies. On the contrary, they are sincerely grateful to the officers and men for their help and for maintaining law and order. The various insinuations, provocative gatherings, slogans on the lines of "Halt the Azerbaijanis' aid," and political speculation on problems have nothing in common with the real problems—all this is being staged by those indifferent to the people's suffering.... And frankly speaking, what appalls me most is that they either try to intimidate

people or to corrupt them. Just take a look at the rate at which aid is arriving—goods, equipment, food... It is hard to keep up and put it all to use. Yet against the backdrop of this assistance, encroachments on state property have multiplied and transport disruptions are being deliberately organized. How low do you have to sink to loot a store against the backdrop of tens of thousands of deaths, against the backdrop of destruction, tears, and sorrow, which is what a certain Galetyan, detained by Lieutenant O. Markovskiy, has done. Can you picture the moral depravity of the people detained by the patrol detail comprising Senior Sergeant S. Nurdinov and Privates Vinkler and Romanovich: They were carrying sacks containing large quantities of shoes, men's vests and coats.... And that while servicemen O. Petinkin and I. Valenko were rescuing Lida Varanyan from the rubble and while Private Kovalenko, risking his own life, worked for 5 and ½ hours with his bare hands to free a woman from under dangerously overhanging debris.

Digging through the rubble, servicemen come across money and valuables and they return them to their owners. So, for instance, in Spitak Sergeant R. Zakirov found gold objects worth R700 and R15,000 and returned them to the owner.

[Correspondent] But there are also other concerns. After all, administrative buildings have been destroyed....

[Dubinyak] Yes, there is trouble enough.

Ensign Katorzhin saved secret documents and accounted for some ammunition. Lieutenant Andrey Bodovets prevented the looting of a savings bank and took part in arresting a particularly dangerous criminal. It cannot be concealed that all kinds of scum have begun to be drawn to the sites of the tragedy in search of easy pickings.

[Correspondent] Yes, it is hard for very young men. There are also those provocative slogans like those heard 7 November on the square in Yerevan when, as they risked their lives, they were compared with fascists, when one artist depicted a Soviet soldier holding down an Armenian as he was being killed. And over all this was the inscription: "Friendship of the peoples of the USSR."

[Dubinyak] Yet at this time we are having to ensure order in the most diverse regions of both republics. I would be going against my conscience if I failed to note that we have confiscated thousands of firearms. Many guns, sawn-off shotguns, and other lethal "items" were surrendered voluntarily, but it was serious law enforcement work which contributed to that.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?

[Dubinyak] It is acute and tense. There has been no breakthrough in many people's consciousness. There have been cases of individual citizens' being beaten in Martuni, cases of people being threatened with weapons, and of livestock being driven away.

[Correspondent] But the enterprises are working?

[Dubinyak] Yes, for several days now. But the situation is such that the Azerbaijanis are not going to work; they are frightened. But the situation and order in population centers and on the roads is controlled by our subunits.

[Correspondent] How much state money this is consuming irretrievably....

[Dubinyak] But that is the reality.... For instance, in one region crippled by the earthquake we discovered a tunnel while clearing away obstacles. It contained 27 weapons! Including a machinegun, 16 submachineguns, and 7 TT pistols. But supposing they had fallen into different hands?...

[Correspondent] That would indeed have been serious....

[Dubinyak] It is primarily a reality which we must consider. The time has passed when all sensible people merely appealed to human feelings and common sense. Those who are sowing discord and destabilizing the situation are guided by just one feeling—putting themselves above the law and above humanity in order to realize their ambitious, self-seeking political desires. They have been able to corrupt some young people and to deform the legal and international consciousness of some of their fellow countrymen, blinding them with demagogic slogans. Unless we assess this honestly, unless we strike with all our might against the forces of evil, their actions will have grave consequences for the citizens of the two republics.

Nationalists Claim 150 Arrested

AU1512104388 Paris AFP in English 1039 GMT
15 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Dec 15 (AFP)—About 150 Armenian nationalists have been arrested here since Saturday, a fugitive nationalist leader told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE on Thursday.

Ambarstum Galastyan, a spokesman for the Karabakh Committee, said that the Army was hunting for members of the movement still at large. He said that Russian officers and soldiers had turned up at his house to arrest him. [passage omitted]

Six of the 11 committee members have been arrested, Mr. Galastyan said, and five of them sentenced to 30 days in jail for undisclosed offences. The sixth committee member, Achod Manoucharyan, who is a member of the Armenian parliament, was released, he said.

Another Armenian MP, Raching Stambouljyan, was detained on Tuesday, Mr. Galastyan said. [passage omitted]

Work of Ryzhkov Commission Continues 14 Dec

Ryzhkov Meets Catholicos Vazgen

LD1412210788 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 14 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with supreme patriarch, Catholicos of all Armenians Vazgen the First in his Echmiadzin residence today.

During a warm conversation which passed in the spirit of benevolence and mutual understanding, Vazgen the First expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet leadership for a big-hearted, truly fraternal attitude to the Armenian people who experienced a devastating earthquake. "I can assure you that the Armenian people is extremely grateful to the Soviet Government for huge disinterested assistance in overcoming the aftermaths of the natural calamity", Vazgen the First told Nikolay Ryzhkov. "People in Armenia express profound respect for Mikhail Gorbachev who put aside all his other affairs to arrive in Armenia, visited the quake-stricken areas and rendered moral support to the entire people. This cannot be forgotten".

The head of the Soviet Government spoke with respect about the efforts of the Armenian church, of Catholicos Vazgen the First aimed at fortifying the staunchness of believers at the time of trial. He emphasised that "the calamity which befell Armenia shocked the entire Soviet people who are wholeheartedly doing everything to ease the situation of people affected by the quake. The commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee working in Armenia enlists huge resources and possibilities which our federal state has".

Sharing the reminiscences about the past, about his contacts with representatives of various nationalities of the USSR, Vazgen the First said that he highly appreciates good relations among peoples and that he hopes that inter-ethnic strife will be overcome.

Nikolay Ryzhkov agrees with these pronouncements by the catholicos and emphasised that the priority goal of the nationalities policy of the CPSU, of the Soviet state is to consolidate the family of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. He said unity on the basis of equality, solidarity and mutual respect imparts huge strength to all the peoples, enables them to withstand any trials, which is manifested anew in the joint effort to overcome the aftermaths of the natural disaster in Armenia.

"In this atmosphere when cohesion, consolidation are so much needed, ethnic strife and the whipping up of unhealthy emotions cannot be tolerated", Nikolay Ryzhkov said. "It is necessary to correct the errors made in

the international upbringing, to assess in a principled way the actions of those who sow enmity between fraternal people out of self-seeking motives. This destructive process should be stopped. It is necessary to strengthen confidence among people, and not to set them one against another. It is only in this way that a dangerous rift can be covered".

Nikolay Ryzhkov told the catholicos about the meeting that Mikhail Gorbachev had with deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from Azerbaijan and from Armenia. He said this was an important step aimed at the quest of equitable solution to acute problems of the region. The catholicos went along with this view.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, took part in the conversation.

More on Ryzhkov-Vazgen Talks

LD1512015388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 14 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received a report from Echmiadzin. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today met with Vazgen the First, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, in his residence:

[Begin recording] [Vazgen in Armenian with superimposed Russian translation] During the conversation, which passed in a spirit of good will and mutual understanding, Vazgen the First expressed sincere gratitude to the Soviet leadership for its magnanimous and genuinely fraternal attitude to the Armenian people who have suffered the disaster of an unprecedented earthquake. [video shows group of people seated at table] I can assure you, he said, that the Armenian people are deeply grateful to the Soviet Government for its vast, selfless aid in overcoming the serious consequences of the natural disaster. Everywhere among us people are expressing great respect for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who set aside all other work to come to Armenia and visit the disaster areas and give the people moral support. This cannot be forgotten.

[Ryzhkov] A few days ago, I listened to your speech, your appeal to the Armenian people—not all of it, it is true, but part of it. You know, it affected me very strongly, and I felt how deeply you, personally, are upset by the tragedy. It is with gratitude that we assess the great work that you are conducting in these tragic days for the Armenian people, for the whole republic, and I must say, for the whole Soviet people. Judging from our information, today it is a tragedy for the whole world, for all states.

[Vazgen] Vazgen stressed that this disaster had shaken the whole world. And the aid which is coming in to Armenia from all over the world is evidence of the high prestige of the USSR and its leadership, first of all.

[Ryzhkov] (?The improvement in) the situation in the world, which has occurred in the past 2 or 3 years, we feel is the result of our foreign policy. Our country's whole image is changing, our country's image in the world's consciousness is changing.

All of the people and all the republics are working very well. There has been a real upsurge of human feeling. Indeed, this grief has united everyone, and it has really shown the true depth of human relations. Today we virtually are not in need of anything here. In fact, we can hardly move what is coming in. Aircraft are arriving every day with foodstuffs, medicines, warm clothing, and children's clothing. We are not short of anything now.

[Vazgen in Russian] And see how the military people are working, the soldiers. Better than the others.

[Ryzhkov] Of course, the situation is complicated. You know, generally speaking, it has turned out that there are two misfortunes in Armenia. The first misfortune is that people are dying, people have died. Things of material value have been destroyed. Well, we will restore the things of material value. We have now prepared a governmental decision, which we will present in a few days—we are still finishing it off, refining the details—and this will tackle the material side of things.

I will say frankly that there are people who even in the midst of this misfortune, as you said on Sunday - and there were some attempts to make speeches there—now too, there are people who are saying: Do not take away people or children. Do not take them away, they say, because the Armenian people are being resettled somewhere.

Well, these are unscrupulous people. They do not understand, or rather, they do understand what they are doing, of course—but is it possible to treat one's people in this way? Is it possible to put children in winter into such conditions, into tents? The children simply will not survive such conditions. Therefore, we are making allowances in this matter, but we think that the people themselves assess them for their lack of conscience and politicking, which are impermissible phenomena, impermissible. I think that the people will make their own assessment of these people, but I would like to say once again that we are doing everything to carry out rescue work. The whole country now is with the Armenian people.

These two misfortunes seem to have come together. Therefore, I would once again like to express to you the government's gratitude for adopting a very good and correct position on what are, in our opinion, totally

impermissible interethnic attitudes and for appealing to the people, warning them of all the consequences. We have also made the same assessment in the government. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, when he was here in Leninakan and Spitak and Kirovakan, met a lot of people. In a conversation in Yerevan we said straight out that this interethnic dissension must stop. These two peoples, the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who have lived for centuries on this land, must not be brought into such a state. [end recording]

[Announcer] Taking part in the conversation was Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Commission Views Situation

PM1512101688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1-2

[TASS report under the rubric "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission" under the general heading "Our Grief and Tragedy": "Time of Trial"]

[Text] Difficulties must not be belittled, one must not allow self-deception, and one must not engage in wishful thinking—this is the main requirement with which the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission in Armenia is approaching any problem in cleaning up the aftermath of the disaster. After yesterday's flight over a number of rural areas and meetings with their inhabitants, the latest operations conference held on the morning of 14 December under the chairmanship of N.I. Ryzhkov substantially clarified the general picture. It turns out that there are 48 and not 28 settlements which suffered considerably as a result of the catastrophe. Assistance in equipment, food, and temporary housing to rural areas needs to be sharply increased. It has also been reported that some 300 people may still be buried under the ruins of the textile combine in Leninakan. The most powerful cranes and a large group of rescuers have been brought into action there to knock down the obstructions.

This and other information which characterizes the seriousness of the situation determined the businesslike and sometime heated nature of the conference. Reports on work done during the past 24 hours were delivered by the republic's Minister of Communications R.I. Avoyan, Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers Yu.P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, Deputy USSR Minister of Installation and Special Construction Work V.F. Bryunin, First Deputy Minister of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry V.P. Trushin, Deputy Chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee V.I. Manayev, Deputy Chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers Yu.E. Khodzhamiryan, and AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev.

It was noted that communications have not yet been reestablished in rural areas and that, as before, the shortage of food and essential supplies is being felt. In

some villages people have no shelter from inclement weather. On the commission's instruction 256 trucks carrying medicine, warm clothing, blankets, and food supplies have been urgently dispatched to these regions. Union and republican ministries of communications have been charged with deploying truck-mounted telephone exchanges in each rayon center within 3 days and repairing all cable and radio relay lines and preparing them for use. Forty of the truck-mounted exchanges are arriving today at rayon centers, and 56 more are on the way. The commission has requested that the ministries of communications of the USSR and of the republic reestablish communications with the help of the military during the next few days in all 117 population centers.

In the past few days, 116 cranes of various sorts, including heavy duty cranes, have been brought to Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak. Power-generating equipment is being brought into operation. Already 75 of the 316 substations of Leninakan have been put back in operation. Half of the town has lighting. The power-generating system of Spitak was completely destroyed, but electricity is now being transferred from the nearest substations on temporary circuits. Railroad track on the Leninakan-Kirovakan section has been repaired. The repair of live circuits is being completed here, two special trains with technical equipment on board are being prepared for departure.

Additional civil defense divisions to take part in clearing obstructions and search for people have arrived in Leninakan and Spitak. The number of mine rescue specialists has risen to 900.

Ninety mountaineers have arrived from Leningrad for rescue operations on multistorey buildings. The commission gave the instruction that 4,000 tonnes of flour and grain be moved immediately from the ruined grain combine in Spitak.

A total of 12,472 people have already been evacuated to sanatoria in the Caucasus and other regions of the country. Women and children, who are temporarily leaving their own towns and villages, are being provided with food and clothing and are being given financial assistance. While this question was being considered, the need to put a rigorous stop to the immoral attempts by various whisperers and slanderers to dissuade people from evacuating and to sow filthy gossip and panic-inducing rumors was emphasized. The republic's mass media, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and party, soviet, trade-union and Komsomol bodies have been instructed to step up their work in this direction.

The activity of the republican headquarters responsible for receiving, storing, and supplying to the victims the cargoes which have been coming in to the airports of Armenia in the form of material aid from the country and abroad was evaluated in a sharp and principled manner at the session. As before, the absence of order

and organization in registering and distributing the cargoes was noted. The session set the tasks of not permitting people's kindness and sympathy to be undermined or discredited by laxity, not admitting a single unscrupulous person to national property, and closing all gaps for waste and theft. A stringent entry pass system is being introduced at airports, and cargoes will be strictly registered and sent under guard to the warehouses of the relevant ministries and thence, by request, to the afflicted towns and regions for specific people in need.

Also discussed at the commission's session was responding to people's concerns with goodness and gratitude and remembering that the disaster which has occurred is yet another test of the goodness and orderliness of each person, both ordinary inhabitants and representatives of authority.

The bitter "geography" of misfortune can also be studied in the wards of the clinic of the Yerevan branch of the All-Union Scientific Center for Surgery, which was visited in the afternoon by N.I. Ryzhkov and N.N. Slyunkov together with S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. It was here that the casualties began to arrive from all parts literally 2 hours after the devastating earthquake. First aid to the victims and complicated operations started immediately and continued without interruption. This was described by branch director A.L. Mikaelyan, a corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

The All-Union Haematological Center in Moscow urgently despatched to the doctors of Armenia an additional set of blood-purifying equipment. Similar equipment arrived from Zaporozhye. A team of doctors arrived from Georgia. After being given first aid, dozens of casualties were sent by plane to the N.V. Sklifosovskiy Institute of First Aid in Moscow.

There are now over 600 casualties in the clinic. The medical staff have a great deal of work. The members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission toured the wards and talked to the patients. With tears in their eyes, the casualties spoke of the doctors' unstinting work and voiced the hope that the help reaching Armenia from the whole country would enable them to recover more quickly and for the republic to heal the wounds inflicted by the merciless elements as soon as possible.

Five doctors who came to Armenia at the decision of the government of Baden-Wuerttemberg (FRG) are working in one section of the clinic. Several assistants and technicians are maintaining the "artificial kidney" machine that they brought with them.

N.I. Ryzhkov cordially thanked the West German medical team and expressed the view that people throughout the world were coming more and more to believe that all countries and peoples must strengthen their contacts and

help each other in their hour of need. It was here too that the members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission had a short conversation with the eminent American physician R. Gale, who has arrived in Armenia.

While at the clinic, N.I. Ryzhkov and N.N. Slyunkov inquired about the doctors' working conditions and the degree to which they were technically equipped. According to the doctors, the medical center was now perfectly able to provide the earthquake victims with effective assistance. The members of the commission wished the patients a successful recovery and thanked the staff for their unstinting effort and devotion to duty.

In spite of the fact that this is already the 8th day since the catastrophe, the rescue services are continuing to bring find people alive who had been buried under the ruins. Twenty people have been saved in the last 24 hours. One hundred and thirty-five bodies have been brought out from under collapsed buildings. The overall number of people saved in 7 days is around 15,000. The figure ascertained for those who have died in that period is 21,775. Some 5,763 people have been hospitalized.

The Armenian land is in mourning. But the noise of powerful equipment does not fall silent for a single moment, the jibs of lifting cranes are moving, and people are working at the ruins night and day. The struggle against the consequences of the natural disaster continues.

Ryzhkov on Work of Commission

*I.D1412175888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] [Announcer] Our special correspondents Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryan Khomaryan report:

[First correspondent] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission held its latest working session this morning. It summed up the results of work over the past 24 hours, drew up new plans, heard reports from leaders of ministries and departments, and coordinated efforts in all areas. The commission gave a strict and principled evaluation of those leaders who are demonstrating negligence, lack of initiative, and slowness in the current situation.

[Second correspondent] In particular, it was stated that sufficient help is still not reaching the affected villages. There is a lack of warm clothing, blankets, and tents there; meanwhile, the temperature last night in the hills was minus 18 degrees. Serious accusations were made against the republic's Ministry of Communications for its slowness in restoring communications with the affected rayons. Certainly, 40 mobile telephone exchanges have come to the rescue, and another 56 are on the way. Powerful cranes are also constantly arriving. In the past 24 hours alone 116 cranes arrived by air, rail, and road. Thus, there are already 500 cranes operating in

the disaster area. There are six regiments of military builders working around the clock. In the near future another eight civil defense regiments will arrive. Ninety steepjacks have arrived from Leningrad to dismantle buildings.

[First correspondent] There was sharp criticism at the session about unsatisfactory work in clearing the grain elevator in Spitak. It was destroyed, and a mountain of grain and flour are now lying in the open. It must be saved, removed, and stored. Great help for the victims is coming from all over the country and from abroad. But sadly, there is no precise logging and distribution of the goods delivered. It is important that all the necessary goods reach their goal and are not lost en route. Staff of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Committee of People's Control of the USSR are supervising this.

Immediately after the session the members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission flew by helicopter to the disaster areas. They are talking with the workers engaged in rescue operations and with the victims. We recorded one such conversation in Stepanavan. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is addressing those gathered:

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] This is the situation: The first thing we are doing throughout Armenia—the Politburo commission together with the republican leadership—is to save what there is today. As they say, there is rescue work going on in the towns. Every day they reach people still alive. But we have to sort out the blockages. For that reason, that is the first thing that we are doing. We are bringing in machinery. Aircraft are bringing in machinery, medicine, and now tents have been arriving day and night. So we are doing everything to ensure the first thing, which is rescuing people. The second thing: We have invited people into the republic. The point is that we understand Armenia cannot cope with this job by itself.

[Unidentified voices] Impossible.

[Ryzhkov] Impossible to cope. For this reason we are now organizing from every republic special building detachments of 30 persons each, equipped with machinery, concrete mixers, and so on. And they will come here, and not just for a month: We are posing the task of restoring everything in 2 years. And they—all the republics—will be working. Now they are preparing in the republics, and I think that sometime toward the end of the month or the beginning of the following month, when we are clear, we will start building—restoration work. [end recording]

Further on Armenia Situation in Quake Aftermath

20 People Rescued on 8th Day

LD1412200988 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 14 TASS—Although it is the eighth day since the earthquake in Armenia, rescue teams keep bringing back to life people who were buried

under the rubble. Twenty people have been rescued in the past 24 hours. One hundred and thirty five dead people were pulled from collapsed buildings.

The overall number of people saved in seven days is about 15,000. The number of people certified as perished during this time is 21,775. Five thousand seven hundred and sixty three people were hospitalized.

Update of Situation

PM1512101588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by correspondents S. Bablunyan and S. Taranov: "Seven Days After the Earthquake. Our Special Correspondents Report From Armenia"]

[Text] Having barely recovered from the shock, one begins to notice other things. Today, when not all the survivors have yet been rescued, when not all those who perished have yet been pulled out of the rubble, many problems remain hidden, as it were. Tomorrow, however, they will appear in all their complexity and take on a "human" hue and content. We have decided to dwell on some of them in our latest reportage.

Men in military uniform are in evidence today on every road in Armenia. We are not referring to those who, forgetting about sleep and rest, are doing their difficult job. Servicemen drafted into the Armed Forces from Armenia are making their way home by train, air, or hitchhiking, everyone as best he can. They have been allowed to go home by order of the country's defense minister. Alas, at this terrible time, the word "home" has lost its original meaning for many of them....

As soon as disaster struck, Colonel L. Dadamyants, chief of the political department of the republic military commissariat, told us, family and friends of those who perished or suffered in the earthquake turned to us. Cables were dispatched to all military districts, groups of forces, and fleets where boys drafted from the disaster area were serving. It must be said that some commanders took the decision to let the servicemen go independently, without waiting for instructions. Many military commissariats are sending us money so that aid may be given to servicemen's families and others who have suffered in the earthquake.

Dilizhan city. At first glance nothing has changed. No ruins, no rubble, no bustle, no haste, no humming engines. There are no casualties, and no one has been injured.... However, it is enough to look at the buildings from the inside. The walls and ceiling in the office of R. Mnatsakanyan, party gorkom first secretary, are covered with cracks. Robert Ashotovich, taking hold of the table, demonstrates how the furniture "floated around" here during the underground tremors. If it were only that! Mnatsakanyan enumerates the city's losses. Twenty five-story apartment blocks and two nine-story apartment blocks are in an extremely dangerous state; more than

1,200 houses in the private sector have sustained considerable damage. After the earthquake, schools and movie theatres which require major repairs were closed down. The hospital, stores, the knitwear and the furniture factory are in a precarious state.... In general, this is true of everything in Dilizhan. However, the city is living, working, and helping Spitak, Leninakan, and Kirovakan where it can. But who will help Dilizhan? After all, it is obvious even now that the inhabitants will not be able to cope on their own and the solution of vitally important problems may drag on for decades.

True, our interlocutor does not doubt that help will definitely come here too. But he is afraid that the troubles of the outwardly intact Dilizhan may be "shelved," or put off until later. Yet attention should be drawn to them now, during the elaboration of the centralized comprehensive program of assistance to Armenia. Attention should be drawn to the problems of Dilizhan and other cities and villages in the republic whose facades have remained intact. When you see the urgent needs at close quarters, the scale of the tragedy looks quite different.

Kirovakan is another case in point. As you enter the city you see clear roads and houses that have not been touched by the underground storm.... And automatically you ask yourself: Is this really one of the focal points of the terrible disaster? There is destruction, of course. However, the 40 buildings which have collapsed in various parts of the city do not determine the city's appearance. It seems that most houses are habitable. Alas, if...

We were told: Of 180,000 inhabitants only 20,000-25,000 remain, and even they are finding shelter in garages, army tents, and primitive shacks which, only with difficulty, could be described as barns. Naturally there is no electricity, hot water, heating, or stoves in these dwellings. To go back to the apartments is frightening. What if there is another earthquake? What if the structure, weakened by the previous tremors, gives way?

The inhabitants of Kirovakan are convinced that their city will have to be rebuilt from scratch, and this time strictly in accordance with the norms and rules of construction in seismic zones. A special expert examination of every house in the city is necessary. Open, objective verification is necessary, taking account of any arising doubts. Otherwise it will not be possible to persuade the tens of thousands of people who have witnessed the death of their near ones to return and to start a new life. The fate of Kirovakan will have to be decided in the near future. Meanwhile those of have stayed on here have a million problems....

The city headquarters staff is working around the clock on the first floor of the party gorkom where we also met Vigen Khachatryan, first secretary of the Gugarkskiy

party raykom. (Gugarkskiy rayon is right next to Kirovakan). The secretary is young, energetic, and... clean-shaven. He looks neat and well groomed, although he has only slept a few hours during the last 6 days, and even those only in the car.

Leaders must be particularly calm and collected and show no indecision or doubt, V. Khachatryan says. It is humanly understandable that certain directors of sovkhozes and enterprises are in despair and wanting to give up. They were told in the raykom: If it were a question of a personal tragedy, grief on an individual scale, you would have all our sympathy and we would release you from your job. However, the misfortune has hit us all alike; therefore it is necessary to pull yourselves together and go and face people.

Some 18,000 of the rayon's 28,000 people are homeless, and hundreds have perished. Despite this fact, we managed to search through the ruins within 2 days. We have organized food supply, evacuated the injured, and 800 children with their mothers have been dispatched to sanatoriums and pioneer camps. The servicemen's assistance was most welcome. However, even now more than 20 of the rayon's villages remain without life-support facilities, light, and telephone communications. Here is a characteristic detail: The Gugarkskiy party raykom is housed in a bus because its building is considered unsafe.

We are now compiling a detailed plan of action, V. Khachatryan said further. It is divided into three sections. The first includes everything that the inhabitants of the rayon can restore by their own efforts. The second specifies what equipment and materials are needed. And the third details precisely what assistance the rayon needs from outside. There are also long-term tasks. It is necessary to prevent a mass exodus of people from the area and to try to keep livestock. With a view to this we are leasing out livestock as an emergency measure and calling on people to join family livestock units and agricultural cooperatives. Otherwise, when we have rebuilt, it will be necessary to start production from scratch.

It is a logical and sensible program. But the path between the plan and its execution, between words and deeds is steep and winding.

Only 5 km from Kirovakan there is Lernapat, a large village with 500 households. The sight is familiar. Many houses are intact, yet the people are living in tents. Life is hard. Distribution of free food—groats, macaroni, canned food, cheese, sugar... has been organized. And bread? Today it did not arrive. The rural soviet ispolkom secretary is shrugging his shoulders. He does not know whom to turn to; besides, communications are disrupted. Furthermore there is a crush as people stand in line. What if there is not enough to go around? There should be enough for everyone, but try to explain this. Incidentally, the long line is also due to poor organization. Why is there only one distribution point for the

whole big village in which people sit around without anything to do for days. Is it really possible to entrust food distribution only to one or two people? The reason is simple: They have not looked for helpers....

Why are there no papers?—people ask indignantly.

It is strange, very strange if you know that in neighboring Kirovakan whole bundles of newspapers, local and central, are lying around waiting to be picked up and read. Meanwhile, instead of objective information there are rumors, sometimes most absurd rumors.

Seven days after the earthquake you come to the conclusion: There are no "trifles" when dealing with people's specific problems. Everything is important, nothing can be disregarded. And nothing can be put off until "later." It is an incredibly difficult task....

The 7th day after the tragedy... The attitude toward it is changing before our very eyes. People are asking more and more frequently: Why are there so many casualties? How were the houses, which collapsed in a flash, built? All this calls for a thorough analysis, of course. But there are more than enough examples of poor workmanship during the past years. Here is a horrific paradox: In Lernapat almost the only building that was entirely destroyed was the 10-grade school. Thirty-five children perished together with their teachers. The school was built in the late sixties, it stood for 2 decades without a commissioning document. Who will answer for this?

Editorial note: The truly selfless work of the servicemen in rescuing people and the contribution to this cause by the Air Force remain to be evaluated. However, we would like to thank the leadership of the Air Force, the command of the military transport aviation, its flight personnel, and the staff of operational control centers for their assistance in promptly conveying IZVESTIYA special correspondents to the disaster zone.

Chazov Briefing on Injured

*LD1412163988 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT
14 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—"These have been very difficult days but they have given one faith in humanity, goodwill and friendship," Soviet Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov said today.

He was speaking at a news conference for Soviet and foreign reporters at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center after coming back from the earthquake zone in Armenia where he stayed from the very first day of the natural calamity, organizing medical aid to victims.

Chazov said the medical assistance has been unprecedentedly wide-ranging and international in scope. "We have received real aid and felt the sympathy of people in dozens of countries," he said.

By today, medical assistance has been given to 15,227 people in affected areas, 9,153 of them were hospitalized but 3,743 have since checked out. Surgeons have performed a total of 3,354 complex operations.

Some 4,000 Soviet physicians and 150 foreign doctors are now working in Armenia. West German and British medical personnel, for example, have joined colleagues at Yerevan hospitals, while Cuban doctors have set up hospital in Leninakan.

Chazov said that immediately after the news of the tremors a plan was worked out in Moscow for organizing medical aid in affected areas. The first team of medical specialists left for Armenia four hours after the quake.

All resources were mobilized in Armenia's medical services as well. But the situation was compounded by the fact that practically all the hospitals in quake-hit areas were ruined and 70 percent of their medical staffs killed.

All in all, 220 medical teams have arrived to help from different Soviet cities.

On the first night after the quake doctors had to work in extremely adverse conditions: there were no electricity or communications and traffic through streets was blocked by rubble. The first operations, including amputations, had to be performed in the open.

Despite the difficulties, patient evacuation was organized efficiently and 1,500 of the injured were taken out of the zone on the very first night.

Most of the injured, or 5,168 people, are in Armenian hospitals, 458 others are in Georgian clinics and 275 of the graver cases have been flown to Moscow.

"Regrettably, there have been deaths in hospitals as well: 242 persons have died in Armenian clinics and eight in Moscow. The graver injuries include the so-called crush syndrome," the health minister said.

Some 60 people were rushed to hospital on December 13, meaning that the inflow of patients is dwindling.

"We keep the sanitary state of affected areas under control," Chazov said. No cases of typhoid fever or dysentery have been registered and there is no data to indicate worsening epidemiological situation in quake-hit areas.

Armenia Official on Looting

*LD1512100088 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT
15 Dec 88*

[Text] Yerevan December 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Yegorov and Lyudmila Shvedova:

Without pausing for sleep or rest, thousands of people are continuing rescue efforts in Armenia which was shaken by a severe earthquake last on December 7.

These courageous and upright people are not thinking of glory or a reward as they clear debris, injuring their hands, evacuate the wounded and bring in food in their own cars, take recovering patients from clinics to convalesce in their homes, give shelter to those left homeless by the quake, help search for the missing, and spend long hours at operating tables.

Monstrous as it sounds, there are also others—better described as shadows rather than as human beings. Without looking anybody in the face, they roam around the ruins—not to save but to steal, not to give but to take.

They are attracted like magnets to the wreckage of savings banks, jewellers' and department stores. Their eagerness to enrich themselves proves stronger than their fear for their own lives.

Criminal proceedings were started against several such people in the very first days after the quake, Viktor Yerin, first deputy interior minister of Armenia, told TASS.

As of December 14, a total of 34 crimes had been registered in the quake-hit areas. Those included the theft of public and private property and even blatant looting.

The military patrol service yesterday detained 179 people and put eight of them in custody. Eleven car thefts were registered as well as cases of the plundering of relief aid and medicines arriving at Yerevan's Zvartnots airport.

Four foreign-made tents and three boxes of Bulgarian-made canned meat were found in the basement of a Yerevan resident's home. He had stolen them during their transportation from Zvartnots airport.

Saleswomen from a gifts shop in Leninakan were apprehended after pocketing more than 50,000 roubles worth of gold decorations.

Fur coats and jackets were stolen during debris-clearing operations at a garments factory in Spitak. An unidentified person broke into a flat in Kirovakan, getting away with gold adornments and radio equipment worth 40,000 roubles.

There were even more macabre cases. Militia personnel arrested a man from Abovyan at Kirovakan's Sport Palace, who had taken wristwatches, a couple of gold earrings and a gold pendant, among other things, from the bodies of quake victims.

The Armenian Interior Ministry issued an appeal to the people of the Transcaucasian republic, sternly warning all those "who hope to capitalize on the tragedy" that "they will inexorably be punished by Soviet law and popular scorn".

Yerin said that however revolting, those barbarous actions by the dregs of society were few.

"Much more frequently we can see remarkable examples of civic conscience and humane nobleness," the first deputy interior minister said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Boris Mileschin of the USSR Interior Ministry, for example, set up a special point where people bring valuables they find in the rubble. Over the past days, some eight million roubles in cash alone have been turned in.

One of those who arrived there with 30,000 roubles found in the wreckage of a building was Private Vadim Bushlakin from the Interior Ministry forces.

In Spitak serviceman Vadim Domin risked his life to stop a motor vehicle crashing down hill without a driver and thus saved many in the milling crowds further down the street.

Communications Repair Continues

LD1412211688 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—The volume of cables and telephone conversations exchanged between Armenia and other Soviet regions grew over four-fold in recent days. Some 4,600 cables were sent to the quake-stricken areas and received from there in the past day.

Means of electric communications have been totally destroyed as a result of the natural calamity in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and other populated localities of Armenia. "Suffice it to say that 60,000 out of the 70,000 numbers of automatic telephone exchanges in the quake-stricken districts have been lost," a TASS correspondent was told by Vladimir Glinka, USSR deputy minister of communications. All the 540 telephone channels between district centres of Armenia and Yerevan went out of operation. Telegraph lines were disrupted. The total damage to the means of communications caused by the quake ran into nearly 50 million roubles.

By the evening of December 8, that is a day after the earthquake struck, the USSR Ministry of Communications restored one or two communications channels with each district centre. "As many as 1,300 communications engineers are restoring the communications systems in Armenia now," the deputy minister said. "The servicing of the population has been organized with the use of mobile teleprinter and telephone exchanges. It should be noted that all telephone conversations and cables from the quake-stricken areas are free of charge."

To ensure better communications between Yerevan, Moscow and other large cities of the USSR, 124 additional telephone channels were opened. "We intend to

introduce another 120 channels in the days ahead," Vladimir Glinka said. Specialists estimated that temporary restoration of communications will require at least five million roubles.

Power Supply Restored in Spitak

*LD1412200388 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT
14 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—A TASS correspondent was told today at the Operations Headquarters of the Ministry of Power Engineering and Electrification of the USSR that power supply had been restored to the town of Spitak, practically wiped out by the December 7th earthquake.

This was made possible by the selfless efforts of thousands of power engineering specialists working in the quake-battered areas of Armenia. They are now concentrating on the restoration of power supply to other towns and villages in the disaster area. This is a far from easy task, however, considering that some two thousand kilometers of power transmission lines, hundreds of transformer stations and several substations were destroyed there.

Round-the-clock efforts permitted to restore power and heat supply to blood transfusion centres and field hospitals shortly after the catastrophe. The power requirements of Kirovakan and Leninakan are practically satisfied today. Preparations are underway to bring electricity to the localities of Dzhadzhur and Kaltakhchi, lying in the very epicenter of the earthquake.

Three out of the four generators of the Razdan thermal power plant are now in operation. The first one was switched in already on December 7th, shortly after the quake. All the Armenian hydraulic power plants are functioning normally.

Staff To Oversee Stocktaking

*NC1412084188 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] In order to coordinate work at the airports and the Yerevan railway station in connection with ensuring accurate stocktaking measures and determining the storage space needed for arriving materials and goods, the council of ministers of the Armenian SSR has formed an operational staff. This is stated in an ARMENPRES report. Comrade Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, has been appointed director of the staff.

The operational staff has been commissioned to ensure that the arriving goods and materials are inventoried properly. These will be distributed only on the instructions of the Armenian Council of Ministers.

The council of ministers of the Armenian SSR has also formed an operational staff for the purpose of organizing the reception and accommodation of and creation of work space for the foreign delegations that are arriving in the republic in connection with the earthquake. Comrade [name indistinct], deputy chairman of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Armenian SSR, has been appointed director of the staff.

Paris Radio Says Rescue Efforts Halted

*LD1412195188 Paris Domestic Service in French
1200 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] We have just heard that the Soviet authorities would like to put a halt to teams of relief workers coming from France. Daniel Grillon, you have been able to obtain some details about this report:

[Grillon] In Spitak, where 150 French people—including 10 doctors and 36 dogs—are working, the order has been given that bags must be packed. The departure and repatriation of the teams to Paris will take place as soon as possible, perhaps even this evening. In this city, ¼ of which is destroyed, the Soviets want to proceed to the second phase of operations, that of clearing the area by bulldozer. They are thus opting to give up any hope of finding survivors a week after the earthquake.

The explanation is a technical one: Because of the way they were built, the buildings, houses, factories, etc., collapsed like houses of cards. Thus there is an absence of air pockets which would allow the inhabitants to survive. In addition, cold weather has arrived. This information has been confirmed at the civil security command in Paris, apparently without any bad feelings, and it has pointed out that the French teams went to Armenia for the initial emergency phase, which is now ending. The entire contingent should leave Soviet Armenia before the weekend. The operation to bring them back will be finalized in a few hours' time when the airlift involving the enormous Hercules C-130 planes has been organized. All this does not mean, however, that medicine, blankets, and so on will not continue to be accepted.

TASS Denies French Report

*LD1412200288 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT
14 Dec 88*

[Text] Paris December 14 TASS—The USSR Embassy to France refuted reports by the France-Inter Radio station that rescue efforts in Armenia had been stopped and that rubble is being levelled off by bulldozers.

France-Inter had also reported that Armenian children, orphaned by the earthquake, were being taken out of Armenia on a large scale for their upbringing in non-Armenian families.

The Soviet Embassy, in a statement to the FRANCE PRESSE news agency, categorically refuted these reports and said the rescue work will continue as long as there is even the slightest hope for finding survivors.

The statement said the absolute majority of Armenian children, who had lost their parents in the disaster, had been given shelter by Armenian families.

The governmental commission and the Armenian government are (?paying) top priority attention to this issue, the statement emphasised.

Aid, Humanitarian Efforts Continue in Armenia

Ambassador Thanks French for Aid

LD1312212888 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT
13 Dec 88

[Text] Paris December 13 TASS—The peoples of the Soviet Union are greatly satisfied and heartily thank the French leadership for its desire to help Armenia after its devastating earthquake, the Soviet ambassador in France Yakov Ryabov told a news conference here. He underlined that French President Francois Mitterrand was the first leader to give his condolences on the tragedy and offer help.

French Prime Minister Michel Rocard helped to equip the first planes to fly to Yerevan with teams of rescuers. Six relief planes from Paris, Lyons and Marseilles airports have already arrived in Yerevan. They brought tents, blankets, medicines and other first aid necessities.

Dozens of earthquake victims have been pulled from the rubble thanks to the selfless efforts of French rescuers. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his gratitude to these courageous people during his recent visit to the stricken areas.

An operations centre based in the embassy coordinates aid to the earthquake victims. A bank account has also been opened and contributions are pouring in.

A list sent by the Soviet Foreign Ministry of the most urgent requirements was given to the news conference.

Armand Hammer Meets Sarkisyan

NC1512115188 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] ARMENPRES [dateline as received]—On 12 December, F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, met with Armand Hammer, famous American philanthropist and president of Occidental Petroleum Corporation, and the delegation accompanying him in Yerevan.

The meeting was also attended by B.E. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Armand Hammer, who is 90 years old, stated: as soon as I was informed of the tragedy that occurred in Armenia, I sent a letter to Mr Gorbachev expressing my sympathies and pointing out that I was ready to come here and help. The Soviet Embassy in the United States informed me that it welcomed my offer, and here I am.

He has brought with him dialysis and other medical equipment, plasma, various medicines, and everything else that is necessary for the victims.

During the meeting, he handed a \$1 million check to the chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers.

The head of the Armenian Government expressed deep gratitude to Armand Hammer on behalf of the Armenian people for his help and cooperation.

We value this gift, pointed out B.E. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and not only as a natural impulse to help at a time of tragedy. This is a sign of the warming relations between our two countries, he said.

Armenian SSR Foreign Minister Mkrtchyan and other officials were also present at the meeting.

Moscow Airport Expedites Shipments

LD1412200588 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

The main task of the freight complex of Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 International Airport is to ensure an undelayed delivery of all the cargoes streaming to Armenia. Dozens of planes of Aeroflot and foreign airlines with urgent cargoes for the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Armenia which was hit by a devastating quake on December 7 daily arrive at the airport.

"An intensive around-the-clock operation of all the services of the complex is a contribution of our multi-ethnic collective to the relief for the friendly Armenian people," said Anatoliy Cherevastov, head of the operations headquarters of the freight complex. "We have altered the technology. All the cargoes marked 'for Armenia' are loaded from planes to the container section to be prepared for shipment to Armenia. Here is just one example: The cargo brought this evening by a flight from Argentina will be delivered to Yerevan in the daytime."

The Sheremetyevo-2 Airport dispatches these days to Armenia not only cargoes arriving from foreign countries, but also tents, medicines, warm clothing collected by Soviet organizations. The airport's services handle 90-100 tons of cargoes a day. If the cargoes brought by transit flights are added, this figure will increase to

approximately 150 tons. Pilots of Aeroflot's central agency for international air services make up to six flights to Armenia on Il-76 heavy transport planes every day.

RSFSR Ministers' Session Held

PM1412140088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its 12 December session the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the course of operations to aid the population of the Armenian SSR in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake on the part of RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and working people of the Russian Federation. A report on this matter was delivered by Comrade O.I. Lobov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Reports were also heard from Comrades F.A. Tabeyev, L.B. Yerminev, and A.V. Aleksankin, deputy chairmen of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Comrade A.I. Potapov, RSFSR health minister; Comrade P.I. Kurenkov, RSFSR trade minister; Comrade B.S. Perfilov, chief of the RSFSR Civil Defense Staff, and other comrades on the urgent measures promptly adopted to help the Armenian SSR.

Teams of medical workers and mountain rescue detachments set off for the afflicted regions immediately, and thousands of liters of donated blood were sent. A considerable quantity of vehicles, machines, means of transport, and heavy loading and unloading equipment together with service personnel, medical supplies, and essential food and industrial goods were urgently dispatched to the disaster areas.

Millions of working people in the RSFSR have shown great patriotism and internationalism. There is no corner of Russia whose people have not responded to the disaster and offered their services and help. All the autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts have prepared to receive victims left homeless.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium instructed RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms to ensure the further development of the operations to help the Armenian SSR, with a view to ensuring improved organization, cohesion, and efficiency.

The session was led by Comrade A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Comrade V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the work of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium.

RSFSR Aid Described

LD1412122488 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT
14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

The Russian Federation, the largest of Soviet republics, is preparing for a large amount of rehabilitation work in northern Armenia which was devastated by the December 7 earthquake.

A programme for the work envisages the construction of apartment houses, industrial plants, hospitals, schools and other facilities the number of which will quite often exceed that of those flattened by the quake.

"This becomes the main direction of our aid to the fraternal people of Armenia", said Oleg Lobov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers.

He met the TASS correspondent before his departure for Armenia.

Lobov said people who would go there from all territories and regions of the multi-ethnic republic would engage mainly in rebuilding the Armenian town of Leninakan and rural populated areas.

Four hundred development experts will leave Moscow for Armenia by a special train in the coming days and, upon arriving at the scene of the disaster, will immediately begin drawing up the necessary documentation. The formation of building and assembly trains for operation in Leninakan in the coming two years has been started in Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian cities.

"The republic's many enterprises have already begun to transport building materials to Armenia", Oleg Lobov went on to say. He is the deputy head of the operational headquarters of the Russian Federation's government for aid to Armenia. "Soon we shall begin to establish a high-capacity building basis in the area of Leninakan. Such basis will then provide our specialists with all necessary things for intense work."

Speaking of emergency relief which has already been given to Armenia, Oleg Lobov said 3,500 units of various machinery, among them 400 cranes which are essential for rescue efforts, were sent from Russia to the quake-hit areas on the very first days after the earthquake.

Thirty-five million roubles have already been remitted to the Armenian relief fund. Approximately ten million roubles have daily come into the account of late.

Ten thousand representatives of all districts of the Russian Federation are now working in Armenia.

Sanatoriums, holiday homes and young pioneer camps throughout the Russian Federation have prepared accommodation to be able to receive if necessary about 100,000 Armenians who were made homeless by the quake.

Update on Unrest, Refugee Situation in Azerbaijan

Baku Commandant on Firearms Use

NC1512141788 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
0300 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Individual groups which are responsible for the disturbances, regard the special situation and the curfew as very undesirable factors which expose them. They are using various means to try to disrupt stability in the city, including the use of firearms. This has been confirmed by the latest facts that have come to light as a result of the operative and investigatory measures put into effect by the military units and the Internal Affairs Ministry organs.

The television, radio, and newspapers stated on 11 December that criminal charges had been filed against Gaipov, Kuliyeu, and Mamedov, who worked in the militarized (?security) office and the Internal Affairs Department in the 26 Baku Commissars District, for stealing, modifying [düzeldirmesi], and concealing firearms.

Trustworthy organs are convinced that this was directly linked to the criminal moves perpetrated by extremist and hooligan elements during the illegal meetings held in Lenin Square.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

'No Significant Change' in Baku

NC1512082888 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1715 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 14 December]

[Text] No significant change has occurred in the situation in the city. A total of 247 individuals and 21 cars were detained for violating the curfew, and three weapons were seized.

Warning shots were fired on three different occasions for public order disruptions and failures to comply with the demands of the military (?units). The militia organs seized a [word indistinct] firearms from unemployed driver citizen Seferov when they arrested him. An investigation has been initiated in connection with the incident.

The USSR Procurator's Investigation Office has imprisoned a number of officials of the Baku Automobile Transportation Production Establishment on charges of receiving bribes. The investigation that has been initiated is continuing.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Azerbaijan Coping With Refugees

PM1512130588 *Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA*
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 p 4

[Report by own correspondent A. Mursaliyev: "People Rush To Help"]

[Excerpt] Baku—It is now a week since classes resumed in Baku VUZ's, and all enterprises are operating. In short, the situation in the city and the republic is gradually returning to normal. The flow of people of Armenian nationality leaving Azerbaijan has drastically decreased.

The day after the tragedy in Armenia Colonel General M. Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District, addressed Baku's Armenians. The first returnees also appeared. Thus, in the space of just 24 hours, on 11 December, 70 people of Armenian nationality returned from Yerevan.

However, the number of trains and planes heading west to Armenia has not diminished but, on the contrary, increased. Only now they are not carrying refugees but freight intended for the victims of the disaster, teams of rescue workers, and construction workers. Because the railroad line from Tbilisi to Yerevan was damaged as a result of the earthquake, passenger and freight trains which formerly reached Yerevan via Georgia are now using the Azerbaijani railroad. Since 9 December traffic in this direction has increased at a rate of four trains per day. And they are all handled and dispatched in the fastest possible time, everything being given a green light.

The labor collectives of other enterprises are also working efficiently and smoothly. Workers in the oil-refining industry are working particularly intensively. The large amount of equipment stockpiled in the disaster regions requires a constant supply of fuel and lubricants if it is to operate without interruption.

"We had sent 5,000 tonnes of fuel to Armenia already by the evening of 7 December," A.Sh. Azizbekov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Gosstab, said. "And the following morning we sent five large, new truck cranes. Many enterprises in Azerbaijan are sending pipes, cable, and wire to the afflicted regions. Almost every collective is now offering help, paying a day's earnings into Account No 700412 and getting ready to work a subbotnik on 17 December. Our republic now bears a heavy double burden. On the one hand, Azerbaijan now has more than 120,000 refugees of Azerbaijani nationality from Yerevan, who must be housed, fed, clothed, and given medical aid. On the other, our sense of duty as citizens and human beings does not allow us to stand aloof during this tragic time for the Armenian people. But people, believe me, understand everything: A great tragedy has occurred and there is great anguish. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan Workers House Refugees

NC1512084188 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1700 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] The workers of [name indistinct] Sovkhoz in Sheki Rayon in Azerbaijan have opened their homes to a large group of refugees from Armenia. Small children have been sent to (?child protection) establishments, and older children to schools.

(?Kuchkov), a responsible functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the agricultural sovkhos and met with the families who arrived from Armenia, asking them about their daily life. A meeting was held at the sovkhos center later. Azer Mustafa-Zade, first secretary of the Sheki Gorkom, and Aydin Dzhabbarov, a responsible functionary in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, replied to questions that are causing the people concern and worry.

Professor Castigates 'Extremists'

NC1512093188 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1700 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] While being interviewed by our correspondent, Professor Shamil Kurbanov, head of the Azerbaijan State University USSR People's Literature Department, said the following:

[Begin Kurbanov recording] All workers in Azerbaijan have extended a helping hand to the refugees in terms of moral and material support. They must do so. The Azerbaijan State University also sent machinery, coats, needed equipment, and material aid to the refugees. We must protect them as if they are our brothers, sisters, and children, and make them feel comfortable.

It is no secret that those who have caused this situation are extremist Armenian intellectuals and extremist Armenians who do not like us.

The Armenian people have experienced a tragic and very sad situation. Of course, holding all the Armenians responsible for the results of the recent incidents is impossible. However, those who have misled the people have not (?accounted for what they have done), and, again, it was the people who suffered from the natural disaster. That the peoples of the world and the progressive peoples have rushed to share the grief of the Armenians and to help them is a positive development. We are happy that Azerbaijan was the first to extend a helping hand. This has proved that we are prepared to extend every kind of moral and material aid to those who maintain respect for their neighbors and who have a high regard for them. The Armenian people are well aware of this, or they should be.

Nevertheless, the extremists have created [words indistinct]. Yesterday's development proved this. Mikhail Gorbachev cut short his visit to the United States and returned to the Soviet Union. He traveled to the tremor-stricken area and shared the grief of the people. This is a very important development. [words indistinct] However, even when the dead still lay buried under the rubble, the Armenian extremists asked Gorbachev when Nagorno-Karabakh would be transferred. This indicates that those who have lost their national image have no concern for the people's sadness or happiness. They only use every opportunity to realize their harmful and ill-reputed objectives. Even when people are choked by tears, these others still place their harmful objectives before all else. They have no use for people, they have no use for a homeland. Mikhail Gorbachev was very right in describing them as the enemies of restructuring. [words indistinct]

Raising the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, which was already settled, and reactivating the people's [word indistinct] is only an act of provocation by elements which are the enemies of the people. This has to be halted once and for all. I am convinced that the Armenian and Azerbaijani people are aware that there is nothing to cause divisions and rumors between them. Whatever has happened has been caused by the extremists. [end recording]

Azerbaijan's Vezirov Visits Rayons, Aktivs

NC1512085488 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1715 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] On 14 December Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, visited Zangelanskiy, Kubatinskiy, and Fuzuli Rayons. He acquainted himself with the activities of the rayon headquarters that have been set up to deal with the work concerning the families which have emigrated to Azerbaijan from Armenia, talked with them in detail, and carefully familiarized himself with their needs.

It was noted that the party, soviet, and economic organs of these rayons, together with the republic's organizations, have organized the work for providing houses, provisions, warm clothing, and [word indistinct] for the refugees. Particular attention has been focused on providing them with employment and a normal education.

As a result of the relations established with the leaders of neighboring rayons in Armenia, particularly with the leaders in the (?Nevre) and (?Ham) Rayons, matters related to the question of welfare services and equipment for the refugees, security guarantees for individuals, and establishment of good-neighborly relations have been resolved.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov addressed the aktivs of the rayon party organizations. They discussed the question of normalizing the situation, the tasks concerning the resettlement of individuals who have left their places of permanent residence, and problems related to upgrading the social and economic development of these rayons.

[Words indistinct] the workers expressed support for the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's policy aimed at removing the difficulties created by the recent incidents, at further broadening all the directions of reconstruction, at realizing the principles of social justice, at consolidating the moral situation in the republic, and at waging a resolute struggle against the opponents of reconstruction.

[Name and title indistinct] accompanied Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov.

Article Discusses Latvian Peoples Forum
PM1412145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by correspondent O. Meshkov under the rubric "The Soviet Union Is Our Common Home": "No Alternative to Unity; Thoughts on the Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian SSR Peoples Forum has come to a close in Riga. During one of the intervals we witnessed a rare natural phenomenon: Through the glass doors of the House of Political Education we could see the December snow falling in thick flakes, when suddenly there was a flash of lightning in the sky, as if it were summer, which was followed by a roll of thunder. I remembered this when, the next day, writer M. Kostetskaya said from the rostrum:

"There is a Russian saying: 'The peasant does not cross himself until the thunder rolls.' Today we have gathered to ward off this thunder with our hearts. So that the thunder does not break over our republic."

"There have been difficult times, but we cannot remember such tension before," A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said in opening

the forum. "Some 40 people have spoken from the tribune during the 2 days the forum has been at work. We have heard detailed reports on various problems, emotional speeches from representatives of national cultural societies, whose association was formed just a week ago, and improvised speeches in immediate response to something just heard. We, the audience, were not alone in hearing all this: The forum has been broadcast on Latvian television."

There is a noteworthy fact: The forum began work at a time of grief for the whole country—10 December was declared a day of mourning. Those present paid their respects to the memory of the victims of the natural disaster in Armenia with a moment's silence. The common tragedy, wave of compassion felt by all the people, and willingness to go to the aid of a fraternal republic compelled the participants in the forum to think of how enormously valuable the friendship between the Soviet peoples is and with what force it manifests itself in an hour of ordeal. And so, during these moments, we were even more acutely aware of our responsibility for the fate of restructuring and our responsibility, when renewing our lives, to eliminate the deformations in national policy committed in the past. In setting about resolving these complex problems, however, let us not forget Lenin's instruction: "Here we must be extremely careful." It is clear what dictated these words of warning: This work, possibly more than any other, must be imbued with real humanity and sincere respect for every people.

Unfortunately, this caution and wisdom have clearly been lacking in the past. Surely this is the reason serious difficulties have arisen in the development of the Latvian nation—for the first time in its history, it has become a minority in its own land. Excessive centralization and departmental arbitrariness have led to distortions and disproportions in the national economy of the Latvian SSR. The consequences of extensive production development are more acutely felt here than in the other Baltic republics, and the weakening of social policy is associated with this. The mistakes of the past have also had a detrimental effect on the original culture of the Latvian people and led to the sphere of application of the Latvian language being unwarrantedly narrowed.

This was all seriously discussed at the forum. Listening to the speakers, I thought: Yes, I have heard about these problems and painful issues before—in the summer, at a joint plenum of the republic's creative unions and later on, at the constituent congress of the Latvian Popular Front. However, I could not fail to notice the difference in how these problems were actually discussed. In this case, it is not a formal circumstance.

On the eve of the forum I had a conversation with D. Ivans, chairman of the board of the Popular Front Council. The conversation was long, at times pointed, and our views were not the same on all the issues. We

disagreed, for example, in our assessment of the developing International Front of Working People of Soviet Latvia. But on the other hand, we both agreed that the Latvian Popular Front has been able to achieve certain positive results during the time it has been in existence. Remember, for example, that it was the strength of public opinion that forced the recent rejection of a wrong decision—to build the Daugavpils GES in Latvia. By presenting its own program—which is certainly not incontrovertible on all points—the Popular Front has taken a big step along this path. I must emphasize: along our common path.

The reason I mention my conversation with D. Ivans before the forum is this. My interlocutor was not inclined to idealize the atmosphere in which the constituent congress of the Latvian Popular Front was held. Yes, mistakes were made. Yes, a higher level of discussion of problems is needed. And he reminded me that the conference of the national cultural societies association held recently on the initiative of the Latvian Popular Front showed that the lesson learned at the beginning of the road, so to speak, was not in vain. The conference took a step—albeit small—in the direction of consolidation and mutual understanding between people of different nationalities living in the republic.

Now the forum was faced with the task of trying to climb one more step up this ladder. I will not hide the fact that D. Ivans admitted to being very skeptical about expecting positive results—according to him, the party-soviet apparatus would be quite well-represented and so there was a danger of a bureaucratic attitude to the solution of the problems raised predominating.

I will be frank: In supporting the Latvian Popular Front initiative to hold the forum, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium did quite the reverse of expectations and were very helpful in conducting it. The 1 and ½ months of tireless work, debates, and discussions in the organizational committee operating under the Supreme Soviet Presidium cannot be regarded with anything other than gratitude. At the forum itself feelings ran high, mutual recriminations were made, and one got the impression that some people wanted to turn the meeting into proof of their dominant influence over the masses. But there was also another side to it: We were able to hear how Latvians, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Tatars from the Crimea and Volga regions, Hungarians and Germans, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Estonians, and Lithuanians understand our common painful problems. We heard specific proposals from specialists and ordinary working people aiming to improve the economic and ecological situation in the republic and resolve the problems of the status of language and citizenship and the fair representation of all nationalities in the highest body of power, so that all views and all interests are considered when legislation is being drafted. Worried inquiries came from the audience about the fate of notes sent to the presidium; there were

a great many of them, so the person chairing the forum had to explain time and again: "No observation or suggestion will go unheeded."

I have already mentioned that the discussion at the forum differed significantly—mainly in the diversity of opinions expressed and the desire to discuss the problem constructively, from every angle, and from realistic standpoints—from the emotional outburst at the constituent congress of the Latvian Popular Front that so shocked a sizeable segment of the republic's population. I believe that a positive role was played in this by the active involvement of the republic's leadership and its party organization in the preparation and holding of the forum. Earlier criticism, particularly that addressed to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee which has lost the initiative in the past in the development of events, seems all the more just. It is real action such as this that offers the most convincing evidence of the party's leading role in restructuring and in the process of consolidating all strata of the Latvian public.

Proposals from forum delegates to the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which plans to discuss the question of improving interethnic relations in the USSR, noted, in particular: "We support the proposal to create an All-Union Institute of Ethnic Relations and corresponding research centers in the union republics." Indeed, this is a requirement dictated by life. Leafing through my notepad containing notes jotted down during the forum, time and again I came across problems requiring thorough scientific interpretation and scientifically substantiated recommendations. Here are just a few brief excerpts from some of the speeches:

M. Valters, a teacher from Talsinskiy Rayon: "The most important thing is to suppress the wave of workaday nationalism."

A. Slisshans, representative of the Latgalian Cultural Society: "The history of Latgalian writing goes back 250 years, but it has been consigned to oblivion.... I propose that a Latgalian autonomous oblast be formed."

A. Alekseyev, cochairman of the organizational committee of the International Front of Working People of Soviet Latvia: "We propose that state language status be given to two languages: Russian and Latvian."

O. Ilyenkov, director of the House of Pioneers in Riga's Leningradskiy Rayon: "It is well known that V.I. Lenin criticized the idea of cultural-national autonomy, but now the historical conditions are different and Latvian culture will not survive without it."

Questions, questions, questions.... At the moment there are more questions than answers. I mean cogent, convincing answers. P. Valter, chief of the Riga Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Political Department, talked of the problems concerning him. He concluded his speech with these words: "It is my dream

that the Popular Front and the International Front join forces and fight for restructuring together." It turned out that this speech was made at the end of the forum's work, which had been conducted under the slogan "Soviet Latvia is our common home." Unfortunately, an incident that took place 20 minutes before this had nothing in common with these words. I am referring to the obstruction organized by some of the delegates against A. Bukashkin, representative of the International Front Organizational Committee, who was given the floor nevertheless—but only thanks to the principled attitude of the person chairing the session. His speech was really in the spirit of the forum's slogan, as he called for a consolidation of forces.

Let's be realistic: There is still a great deal to discuss together and a great deal to be learned in the complex science of mutual understanding. But there is no alternative to real unity of forces on an international basis in the Leninist interpretation of the word.

Journalist Rebuts 'Stalinists' in Sajudis

PM1412142988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy "Rejoinder": "Many Prophets, But as for Truth...: Your IZVESTIYA Correspondent's 'Sin'"]

[Text] Vilnius—At a recent rally organized in Vilnius by "Sajudis" (the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring), a local journalist called Tonkus read out a letter whose author remains unknown. The letter began:

"Recently the disgraced Lithuanian government, helped by the mass media, has begun slandering 'Sajudis.' Correspondent Kapelyushnyy has joined in this unseemly venture...."

The crowd roared a chorus of insults at me although I imagine that not all of them knew precisely how the newspaper had "slandered" the movement. I also wondered about that. At the movement's secretariat they enlightened me—they were talking about the article "Movement and Stop Action" (see IZVESTIYA No 329).

The newspaper's article could not have pleased the leaders who organized the "stop action" or the participants in it. Neither did the action itself please the great majority of the republic's citizens. The press here wrote a great deal to that effect, incidentally, and the vast number of letters and telegrams sent to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee also attest to it. My assessment of the action was also based on the majority view. Yet my entire crime, as far as I understand it, is that I dared to contradict "Sajudis."

Later on in the letter, after branding Stalinism and stagnation and describing the Lithuanian people's sufferings in the wastes of Siberia and in their native land, the writer concluded: "It would be better if Kapelyushnyy did not interfere in our people's affairs; we will sort things out ourselves."

I had a number of questions for journalist Tonkus and the anonymous author. Several times I asked the "Sajudis" secretariat to help me meet with them, but all to no avail.

Of course, no one has the right to forbid anyone from criticizing or to censure or condemn a man whether it is at a rally, a meeting, or in the mass media. And the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring makes very extensive use of that right of glasnost. In xeroxed copies of the "SAJUDIS NEWS," in its newspapers "VOZROZHDENIYE" and "MALAYA LITVA," in the republic's party press (the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee authorized it), on the radio and television, not to mention the rallies and pickets, "Sajudis" members give harsh assessments not only of situations but of actual people. Here is a recent example: After a session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, slogans appeared in the streets and squares of Vilnius expressing a lack of political confidence in V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium; I. Guretskas, secretary of the presidium; L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; and Yu. Paletskas, chief of a Central Committee department; and in various places signatures were collected on a petition against them. The whole sin of the people in question—deputies to the republic's supreme soviet—was that they had not satisfied "Sajudis'" demands for amendments to the republic's Constitution, amendments which had not been discussed with the people.

So does a "nonnative" correspondent, as "Sajudis" often calls non-Lithuanians, have the right to write about events in the republic? Merely to ask the question is boring.... But I have an answer even to a question as absurd as that: More than once the movement's initiators have complained about the central press' inattention, which they saw as a breach of the principle of glasnost, and asked me personally and in public—not off the record—to write about "Sajudis."

The movement has many positive qualities, which the newspaper has described, and it is popular. The movement has helped to resolve many questions, which has won it deserved prestige. It goes without saying that the republic's inhabitants support "Sajudis'" constructive program. But it sometimes lacks the necessary political culture and experience and a sober and balanced approach to the most complicated situations. The mass media would be doing a disservice to present these shortcomings as merits or to ignore them.

Intolerance of criticism and the inability to listen to assessments of "Sajudis" actions which do not correspond to its own characteristics of its leaders and many of its rank-and-file members. While condemning Stalinism and its methods, this intolerant wing behaves just like inveterate Stalinists. "'Sajudis' is the people!" they scream, failing to notice the similarity between that slogan and the very recent claims that the party is the whole people. Their logic is: Speaking out against "Sajudis" mistakes is the same as opposing the people. A familiar device? Quite recently SOVETSKAYA LITVA published a vicious article against the "Unity" movement organized in the republic. I do not know whether the author of the article belongs to "Sajudis." But the article exudes hatred and puts the question in these terms: If "Sajudis" exists, why have "Unity"? Sound familiar?

Leonid Levitskiy, an Estonian colleague of mine, related an interesting episode to me: During a TV broadcast a popular leader of the Estonian Popular Front was described as "father of all Estonian children," no less. What associations does this bring to mind?

Labeling, the defamation of those you dislike, and psychological pressure are the radical wing's methods. A journalist working for a Polish publication in the republic contacted the IZVESTIYA correspondents center. She had ventured in her magazine to disagree with a number of aspects of "Sajudis" activity. Her case had been discussed in tough terms, and Communists on the editorial board had expressed a lack of confidence in her. This was in the journalistic milieu, where pluralism is supposed to be the lifeblood of creativity....

It must be said regretfully that some leaders of the movement, which was born of the people's suffering, are obstinately clinging to the old track of authoritarianism, restricted democracy, and lack of glasnost. The principle of "who is not with us is against us" is not always applicable even in a street brawl. The question here is what kind of future awaits us. Will we cheerfully march along under the old portraits and marginally updated slogans or will we not march along at all?

As for the idea that "it is better not to interfere, we will sort things out ourselves"... Your IZVESTIYA correspondent represents the publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. There are about 60 such representatives in the USSR and more than 40 abroad. Every region, both here and abroad, may well have its own prophets. But there is only one truth. We are its servants.

***Lithuanian Official, Sajudis Leader on Goals**
WA36400004 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian
19 Oct 88 p 9

[Interview with Algirdas Brasauskas, third secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian SSR and with Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, a leader of Sajudis, by Aasmund Willersrud in October in Vilnius: "Lithuania: The Pressure Grows"]

[Text] The leaders of the Communist Party are walking a tightrope between Moscow's interests and those of their own people in the process of national independence

which is sweeping like wildfire through the three Baltic republics. Composure is the party's best quality in this situation, one of Lithuania's leading party leaders told AFTENPOSTEN.

Serious, daring demands for national independence from Moscow, their own citizenship, a national language, its own currency, even their own national borders are among the things the new popular movements have put before the party. Can these things ever be made a reality, reconciled with the Communist Party's line?

"Our mission will be to come up with a realistic middle way. But the work of the party's organs has now certainly become more demanding," acknowledged Algirdas Brasauskas, the Central Committee secretary responsible for the economy—the key area in the plans for home rule.

Lithuania's Gorbachev

"He's our own Gorbachev, he's liberal and dynamic," say Lithuanians about Brasauskas. He is no ordinary "apparatchik," but rather an engineer and a specialist in hydroelectric power plants. In July he was tumultuously received when he stood before a crowd in Vilnius and said that the authorities would grant official status to the old yellow, green and red national flag which waved over Lithuania before its annexation by the Soviet Union in 1940. The flag was approved and was first raised on 7 October.

Officially Brasauskas is only the third man in the party leadership. But Rimkauskas Songaila, the head of the party, is ailing, and Nikolai Mitkin, the second secretary is a Russian....

To begin with, the relationship of the Baltic Communist Parties to the independence movements is complicated. In Estonia the Popular Front arose out of a crisis of confidence between the people and the party, and only in the course of six months did its growth lead to a collapse of the party leadership under the old and stubborn Kar Vaino. When Vaino Valjas, the new head of the party appeared for the first time, the reversal was complete. The party had embraced the Popular Front and turned its platform into its own program.

Crisis of Confidence

In Lithuania the process has not gone that far. But the crisis of confidence is just as apparent in relation to the party leadership which—more or less willingly—sanctioned major environmentally dangerous projects like the Ignalina nuclear power station. This nuclear installation, with its Tchernobyl-type reactors, is now felt by Lithuanians to be a threat to their entire nation.

"Nothing To Lose"

"We're starting to recognize ourselves in the classical definition of the proletariat—a class which has nothing to lose," said Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, one of the leading figures in Sajudis, the young Lithuanian movement. It sounds almost like desperation, now that actions for independence from Moscow are being drastically stepped up.

The dissatisfaction is also based on a situation in which the repression is felt more acutely than in the neighboring republics. "In Lithuania, open discussion about our relationship to history and cultural monuments is not permitted. Recently protests against economic conditions could be publicized in the Soviet central press, but not here in Lithuania," Landsbergis said.

Danger of Extremism?

Does the party have full confidence in the movement he represents? What guarantees are there that it will not become an arena for people who, in party jargon, are called extremists? Or, quite simply, is it fertile soil for what in Stalin's time was called "chauvinism," which, according to Marxist theory, is the most extreme form of capitalist nationalism, is malicious and full of contempt for other nationalities? Algirdas Brasauskas reflects for a moment, then responds quickly with a convincing statement of confidence: "Judging from what we see today, there is no reason to mistrust these people. But the situation requires that those of us in the party be able to separate extreme opinions from the others in a sober way."

But what about chauvinism? "No, that issue has not arisen here," the Central Committee secretary says assuringly. "Besides, two-thirds of the initiative group are party members."

Home Rule

As in the neighboring republics, the political agenda in Lithuania is dominated by the plan for economic home rule which has gained ground since a group of Estonian intellectuals launched it exactly one year ago. The central authorities in Moscow asked the governments in all three Baltic republics plus Belorussia to come up with their own plans.

Brasauskas declines to go into details about his concept, but the key word is the subordination of all industry and all agriculture to the republic's council of ministers, which will also take over control of all financial and material resources. The economic secretary does not, however, advocate taking the republic's budget away from the union.

"No Secession"

"We believe that a republic of the USSR must clarify the union budget, do things in the whole union's interests, but solve all problems locally. The secession of the republic from the Soviet Union is not something we're concerned with," Brasauskas stated.

Nor does the Movement for Perestroika operate under such a formulation, but for Professor Landsbergis describing reality requires more radical solutions: "There's stagnation in Lithuania's economy. On the one hand, they're talking about a free economy and self-financing but in fact nothing has been done to introduce this."

"Everything is extremely centralized in this republic. Everything is subordinate to the ministries which in turn report to the central authorities. The economy is closely linked with ecology, to the destruction of the environment. And everything has gone so far in the course of my own life of 40-50 years," Landsbergis said.

That is to say, a period which coincides exactly with Soviet rule of the little republic.

This is the second of two articles about Lithuania. The first ran in yesterday's morning edition.

Academy of Sciences Official on Baltic Issues PM1312104188 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 7

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences B.P. Kurashvili, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by special correspondent E. Kekelidze under the rubric "Viewpoint": "On the Subject of National and Social Harmony"]

[Excerpt] [Kekelidze] [passage omitted] In society, as a living organism, various processes interact and polarized views on specific issues arise and sometimes clash. This is borne out by the discussion on the amendments to the USSR Constitution. The opinions that have been expressed were sometimes truly diametrically opposed. It is not surprising that the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution adopted at the extraordinary session of the republic's supreme soviet have caused such reverberations. How do you view this situation?

[Kurashvili] Unfortunately, I cannot claim to have specific knowledge of the situation in Estonia, although I follow the development of events in your republic with the greatest interest. I am not alone in this; interest in Estonia is very high indeed at the moment. A few days ago Estonian affairs were discussed with equal interest and goodwill at a "roundtable" discussion at APN and a session of a group of informal organizations at the

Institute of Culture. I attended these discussions and said that it is necessary to agree to everything sober and sensible in the Estonian proposals.

[Kekelidze] Were you able to see the documents adopted at our session?

[Kurashvili] Yes, and I must say first of all that in the original these documents look much more sensible than they do when you see the selective, abridged version in the press. Now I will say what, in my view, is open to question in these drafts, without claiming that my own opinion is unassailable, of course. The general impression is this—people are searching for a sensible path of development and it is necessary to cooperate with them in the quest for such a sensible path. It may prove useful not only for Estonia, but for the union as a whole.

[Kekelidze] In your opinion, what problems are of fundamental importance today for both Estonia and the country as a whole?

[Kurashvili] First: a union of republics or a single union state? Second: the state language and the problem of bilingualism. Third: private ownership, which is incorporated, according to the adopted decisions, in the economic system. Fourth: republican economic accountability. Fifth: the Popular Front and a multiparty system. Sixth: rally democracy and the problem of psychological pressure on the organs of power.

[Kekelidze] And the problem of republics' sovereignty?

[Kurashvili] The sorest problem of all.

[Kekelidze] Could we begin with this problem?

[Kurashvili] You know, we ought to plunge into the debates of the early twenties on the nature of our state. The question of establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was being decided then, the union treaty was being drafted, and, naturally, questions of the republics' sovereignty and the correlation between the sovereignty of the union and that of the republics was being discussed. We ought to return to this material, viewing it from present-day positions. The question of the correlation between the ownership rights of the union and the republics was also raised then.

Today, as a result of long development, we have arrived at a provision enshrined in the Constitution—all the country's peoples own the entire land. That is, the land, forests, and waters of Estonia are owned by both Estonia and all the other peoples. And vice versa. This does not seem sufficiently well-founded to me. It would be more logical to differentiate between objects of ownership and to establish different ownership regimes in respect of different objects. For instance, the forests, waters, and land of the republic clearly belong to the people who inhabit the republic. As for the property of enterprises,

the question can be posed in different terms. Unfortunately, under our Constitution we do not have a sufficiently comprehensive list of actually existing forms of ownership. Obviously, nationwide (state) property exists in two forms: There is union property and republican property. There is also the property of local territorial soviets (that is, municipal property). And they should not be confused. As for state enterprises, it needs to be established to what extent they are the property of the republic's people and to what extent they are union property, depending on how they came into being; although, it is true, the fact alone that an enterprise is under union jurisdiction and was created out of the union budget does not mean that it should belong wholly to the union and not to the republic. This is very important, in particular, for the implementation of republican economic accountability.

[Kekelidze] However, republican economic accountability is closely linked with the operation of all-union laws on the territory of the republic.

[Kurashvili] There is another possible way of implementing the idea of the adoption of union laws—they could be adopted not merely with the participation but also with the consent of each union republic. Imagine the following model: The civil, criminal, and other codes are not adopted by republics on the basis of common union fundamentals but by the union as nationwide laws. However, each of these codes is approved by each union republic, which, moreover, has the right to accompany these codes with additional regulations reflecting the specific conditions of the union republic in question and the particular features of its legislative will. When, 10 years ago at a legal conference, I proposed this kind of model, which on the one hand strengthens the unity of Soviet legislation and on the other hand guarantees decisive participation by each republic in its creation, the idea met with criticism from both the "unitarists" ("what, can the union not adopt a law without the consent of the republics?") and the "federalists" ("what, are the republics no longer to have their own codes?!"). Nonetheless, it seems to me that it would be sensible to give this model some thought now. Bearing in mind that the republics would still have their own legislation on questions outside the sphere of competence of the union.

The republics' consent to the adoption of union laws could be expressed by both republican organs and republican representatives in the supreme organs of union state power.

[Kekelidze] However, so far as I can see, is it not precisely fundamental questions of this kind which are supposed to be settled by the union treaty?

[Kurashvili] Yes, we have now forgotten that the union owes its existence precisely to the union treaty. Therefore it will not be surprising if it is restored. It's a matter of ensuring that we are not transformed into a confederation. I believe that this would be a backward step and

utterly unjustified. The point is that provision could be made in the USSR Constitution for a whole series of changes directed toward realizing union republics' sovereignty. In a confederation there is no unified legislation or a single monetary system (an article by D. Zlatopolskiy in *IZVESTIYA* deals with this in detail). To become a confederation would essentially complicate the existing vitally important political, economic, and cultural ties within the union and thus create additional difficulties in the development of the economy. We should, on the contrary, give some thought to ensuring that our internal market is truly developed, ensures equivalent exchanges, and thus creates the conditions for republican economic accountability and regional economic accountability in general. However, if we take the path of transforming the country into a confederation we will find that, proceeding from exaggerated notions of the need for national isolation, we will move toward archaic forms of economic management. I believe that this is totally unacceptable.

I regard a single monetary system and citizens' ability to freely cross union republic borders as absolutely essential for our economic prosperity.

[Kekelidze] But does this mean that the migration which is causing the republic so many problems today will continue?

[Kurashvili] It is impossible to stop migration altogether, and in many cases it is expedient. Migration based essentially on ill-considered and ill-founded economic decisions by central departments is another matter—this kind of migration should be stopped and will cease as our economy is rationalized and departmental domination eliminated, when we will have a different system of economic ties.

[Kekelidze] Do you mean republican economic accountability?

[Kurashvili] An exceptionally healthy idea! Estonia has been and remains the pioneer, the trailblazer here.

I would draw attention to the following point. In connection with regional economic accountability the temptation arises to introduce customs control, for instance to restrict the export of output from the republic. The situation justifies this. But for a developed system of economic relations it is not quite what is needed. The republic should be interested in increasing the export of its output, because it is precisely this export which enables it to improve its living standard. In general in the system of republican economic accountability, those republics which surpass the all-union level for labor productivity will obtain corresponding benefits—through economic ties.

That is why we must seek to expand economic ties and not to control them stringently: Isolation leads to nothing good. This is particularly important for small republics which cannot muster natural resources for the normal functioning of their economy, in particular fuel and other raw material sources. Economic accountability will be based on economic ties between relatively independent, autonomous enterprises. Autonomous not only from union organs but also from their own republican bureaucracy. There is the fear that republican economic accountability may be interpreted in such a way that the republican bureaucracy will take all the threads into its hands and direct the enterprises just as stringently as before.

[Kekelidze] But what is the benefit to the republic?

[Kurashvili] The republic benefits automatically through enterprises' economic ties and the enhanced efficiency of their work. The enterprises can obtain their profit as they please and in particular not solely through the conventional classic exchange.

[Kekelidze] There is a fear that if it is the enterprise's level of advantage and not the common good of the republic which is made the point of departure, then enterprises' unbridled egotism will cause even greater harm.

[Kurashvili] Of course, enterprises must ensure the common good. But... if you proceed from the premise that by their nature enterprises are selfish and that the common good is ensured by the endeavors of republican organs, then we will have the same old administrative-edict system of management, but at republican level. Of course, questions of ecology and scientific and technical progress and investment policy must be in the republics' hands. But they should have some small share of accumulations. In the main the enterprise should be concerned for its own development—it is necessary to enable enterprises to act selfishly, to obtain their profit. And the republic will have its share of these profits. Well, let's suppose the following distribution—Kobaidze suggested it at the conference: Some 50 percent of the profits are retained by the enterprise, 25 percent go into the union budget, and the rest goes into the local or republican budget. In obtaining their profit the enterprises will also ensure the satisfaction of basic social requirements.

We must shift from the system to which we are accustomed, whereby the center (or republic) is concerned for the common good, to a system whereby the common good is ensured automatically as a result of the allegedly selfish actions of enterprises.

[Kekelidze] To a system of self-regulation?

[Kurashvili] Quite correct. Placing enterprises in a competition situation and halting the trend toward monopoly—this is a matter for state organs. Rigorously monitoring the ecological regime—this too. But it is not their

job to limit enterprises' independence on the basis of concern for the common good. Socialist commodity production must be transplanted to our soil.

[Kekelidze] But can this be done in a single republic?

[Kurashvili] It can. But it is better to do it on a countrywide scale. In this connection I will touch on the question of private ownership. Can you have commodity production without private ownership? Certainly, it seems to me—if you give enterprises enough economic independence on the basis of enterprises' indefinite or long-term possession of the relevant portion of the property of the whole people. Economic possession is practical ownership making it possible to handle property as freely as you like in order to obtain profits. It is merely necessary to ensure that the profit is obtained from real socially useful activity. That is all that is needed in order to link the mechanisms ensuring capitalist production prosperity to socialist production.

I think people are being somewhat hasty when they press for the introduction of private ownership here without having even tried the mechanism that could stimulate the development of socialist commodity production, that is, the mechanism of economic possession, or, as they say, the lease system—they are one and the same.

[Kekelidze] And in this sense, in your opinion, the amendment to the Estonian SSR Constitution...

[Kurashvili] ...It seems to me unnecessary or, at any rate, hasty. There is absolutely no urgency about permitting private ownership. It introduces exploitation into life—private ownership is associated with the use of hired labor and starts where the means of production are linked to hired labor. It is easy to be tempted to switch to capitalist production, to introduce private ownership, and to meet certain vital interests, but this would be bound to lead to serious difficulties for us later. It must not be forgotten that we have gotten used to not hiring ourselves out to capitalists. Bureaucrats, of course, are often no better, but at least they can be fired; but you cannot fire a capitalist, he is a fixture of social relations. So we should certainly not be in a hurry; it would be better to do without private enterprise activity altogether.

As for individual labor and copoperative activity, we have solved these questions radically enough.

Incidentally, I noticed the following episode described in one of the "Popular Front Bulletins." As an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet candidate deputy, E. Savisaar was meeting with voters at a sovkhos. He was accompanied by economists, in particular Ivar Rayg, whom I have the pleasure of knowing. He was one of the pioneers of individual labor activity and is fascinated with the subject. They suggested to the voters, who were intending to convert the sovkhos into a kolkhoz—why not convert it directly into an individual farm [fermerskoye

khozyaystvo], skipping the kolkhoz stage? But they were unsympathetic. I would even say that the suggestion was rebuffed, and quite rightly too. The workers said: But what about the well-organized big farm? You cannot hand it over into the possession of an individual.

I believe attempts to set up enterprises of a capitalist type would meet with an even stronger rebuff, and not only in Estonia. Wherever social tension starts to appear as a result of the power of money, political tension also appears. Then it will be goodbye to the dream of democracy and there will be a real possibility of a recrudescence of authoritarian forms of rule. In our conditions a mixed system does not guarantee democracy. Thus there is tension already, caused by operators who have grown rich within the cooperative system.

[Kekelidze] This may be a naive question. Cooperative workers now have a free hand. But production workers unanimously assert that the Law on the State Enterprise is, in fact, not working, or working badly, that is, the enterprise' hands are tied. This aggravates the aforementioned tension. Don't we need a new Law on the Enterprise, with whoever makes it ensuring that it works?

[Kurashvili] It is clear who should not make the law—those who made the present ineffective law. Who should, then—best of all would be the country's Supreme Soviet itself, which will now operate permanently, with help from science. It is all the more important here that very important legislative acts of this kind be adopted with the consent of all the union republics.

[Kekelidze] So we are back again to the question of sovereignty?

[Kurashvili] Obviously, the question of the union republics' sovereignty must be solved differently in our "single union" state constitution. "Single union" is a contradictory term. If it is a single (unitary) state it is not a union state; and if it is a union, that is, federal state, it is not a single state. When the present Constitution was adopted, the word "single" was opposed by many lawyers, including myself, but it was nonetheless decided that the word expressed the basic tendency of the Soviet people to form a single community.

[Kekelidze] Which was an exaggeration, to say the least.

[Kurashvili] It was exaggeration, and it was jumping the gun as well. The rapprochement of nations and their partial amalgamation is already taking place, but it is a very long process. At the moment the absolute legitimacy of each nation's concern for self-preservation must be acknowledged. Likewise the permissibility of what I would call natural national enthusiasms. This is not nationalism: Some national enthusiasms are justified by circumstances.

When talking about the Baltic republics, how can one ignore the unusual circumstances in which they joined the union? One cannot ignore the fact that the feelings about and the reaction to these circumstances are still in evidence and will continue to be so for a long time. So the central authorities have to understand and accept natural national enthusiasms. It is something like the enthusiasms of youth; moral sense should tell young people at what point something ceases to be permissible and healthy. But it is unrealistic to demand that these enthusiasms should not exist at all.

[Kekelidze] What would you include under the heading of "natural national" enthusiasms?

[Kurashvili] In particular, exaggerated ideas about the importance of a national state language, the underassessment of bilingualism for the indigenous nationality, and overly severe demands on the nonindigenous part of the population with respect to the republic's national language. If I am not mistaken, these points are to be found in the draft law on language currently under discussion in Estonia. As it were, the equal rights of those who do not speak Estonian are not recognized. This seems to me to overstep the mark. In general I should say that bilingualism is an enormous benefit both for each republic and for each individual citizen. It is more productive to pursue the line of creating the conditions for learning a republic's language from childhood rather than making strict demands that people learn a language within a given time or become second-class citizens. In my view, a correction is needed here.

[Kekelidze] We have not touched on another problem, which you described as rally democracy.

[Kurashvili] Yes, I would like to say a few words about the psychological pressure which the popular fronts tend to resort to. The pressure on public opinion, for instance, on the issue of private ownership, strikes me as impermissible. Referendums must be held on such issues—it is, after all, a very major change to choose between a single system or mixed framework for economic management. We must let people state their opinions calmly. Although you cannot avoid pressure in politics, wherever there are mass demonstrations, pressure is inevitable. But it is here that political leaders' wisdom is displayed: Can they restrain themselves when there is an opportunity to achieve something through psychological pressure and mass support prompted by suggestion rather than argument? If people do not restrain themselves it is a sign of a lack of political wisdom and calls into question their ability to be real political leaders.

[Kekelidze] Few people now remember that you were the first person in the country to say the words "Popular Front." Did you foresee this turn of events?

[Kurashvili] I thought a popular front would have two functions. An organizational form within which all social organizations participating in the political process,

including the party, would participate; and, second, something akin to a second party proposing a different positive development program and criticizing the ruling party and the state apparatus, particularly bureaucratic distortions in their activity.

There are serious shortcomings in the existing Baltic Popular Fronts—naturally, it is easier to rally people on a national basis rather than on the basis of resolving social tasks. But the main thing is that these movements have presented a different way of achieving our common goal. We are used to thinking that there is only one correct way to reach our goals, that if one proposed program is positive another must necessarily be negative. This is not so! We can choose the better of two positive programs. This is also a way of cooperating and competing on the basis of a common goal. The words "multiparty system" grate on our ears; in our history we have gotten used to all opponents being rooted out and destroyed for the sake of party unity. Under those circumstances there probably was good reason for such iron unanimity. But today things are different. A rule-of-law state means listening to different opinions. Decisions are made by the majority, but minority opinion is taken into account rather than rejected. It is the sacred right of a minority—any minority, political or ethnic—to be heard. And in order to be heard we need to be able to speak.

Official Discusses Ban on Rally in Minsk

PM1412164188 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 4 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Belorussian Trade Union Council Secretary N.I. Rosh by BELTA correspondent A. Palchevskiy under the rubric "Returning to Earlier Published Materials": "Elemental Forces Are Always Destructive"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The findings of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission and the presidium's resolution "On the Results of a Study of the Circumstances Related to the Prohibition of the Holding and the Termination of a Rally in Minsk City 30 October 1988"—both of which were published in the press in mid-November—were, it seemed, intended to dot all the "i's" and cross all the "t's" of the situation that emerged. However, subsequent articles on this topic in certain publications—union-level publications as well—have generated a new wave of perplexed questions. They actually placed in doubt both the commission's findings and the resolution of the republic's supreme soviet presidium. In this connection BELTA's correspondent asked N.I. Rosh, secretary of the Belorussian SSR Trade Union Council and deputy of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, who headed the work of the commission, to return to these events yet again.

[Palchevskiy] Nikolay Ivanovich, what principle did the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission pursue in its investigation; were all the circumstances studied?

[Rosh] The composition of the commission was determined in the first days of November, and it set to work immediately. We were given just one instruction by the chairman of the republic's supreme soviet presidium: Investigate everything with the utmost objectivity, paying particular attention to the elucidation of even the slightest breaches of existing laws. We therefore began by examining the motivations of the rally's organizers, and also those of the soviet ispolkoms which refused to allow them to hold it. The results were given detailed coverage in the press. I will underline just once more what in my view is an important detail: No authorization was given—as certain authors claim—for the holding of the rally; "Martirolog," which was created after the receipt of the requests, did not figure among its organizers. The commission unambiguously stated that the ispolkoms had not exercised the right granted them of proposing another time and place for the holding of the event and informing its initiators about this. This is so. But the official refusal was conveyed to the petitioners and, according to the law, it must be fulfilled.

Next the commission set about questioning the rally participants and representatives of the internal affairs organs. Moreover, it was not we but the citizens themselves who told us who else we should meet with. We invited all the named comrades, and they were able to address the essence of the matter. The atmosphere of the meetings was calm and constructive.

By 10 November the commission's findings had been prepared and submitted for examination by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Each proposal and even individual words were discussed by the members of the commission, and only when complete unanimity had been achieved was a point adopted.

[Palchevskiy] This document contains the assertion that the unsanctioned rally pursued aims distinct from the theme indicated by its initiators in their applications. What evidence did you have of this?

[Rosh] In line with generally accepted norms—and not only in our country—the organizers of any mass event, rallies included, are obligated to indicate the time, venue, and purpose, designate the texts of the graphic displays (placards, slogans), and indicate the approximate number of participants. The law enforcement organs are obligated to monitor the observance of these norms and take measures to terminate the event if violations occur.

The enumerated documents were placed at the commission's disposal. But also forthcoming were those used 30 October at the cemetery on the Moscow highway. These latter had nothing in common with what was indicated

in the applications for the rally and for the "Dzyady" ["Forefathers"] remembrance day. The texts of the leaflets were of a provocative nature. This was acknowledged by the citizens themselves during their questioning by the commission. In addition, as we were informed by the Belorussian SSR MVD, militia officials' appeals to disperse because the rally had not been authorized were met by abusive shouts and invective from the crowd directed against the organs for the maintenance of public order.

[Palchevskiy] How did the commission evaluate the actions of the militia?

[Rosh] I will begin by saying that we put a perfectly understandable question to those who wished to hold the rally: Why, knowing about the prohibition of the event, did they not seek its postponement to a later date; why did they not announce to the citizens the decision of the local authorities and take steps to exclude possible excesses? Judging by their replies, they lost control over the development of events. Those questioned denied that they had any connection with the invitations and calls disseminated in the city, said there were elemental forces at work in the matter, nor did they know how many people might respond to these anonymous declarations.

Under these conditions the public law enforcement organs took the relevant steps. The numbers of the militia personnel were in our view overstated but, I repeat, that was dictated by the lack of clarity in the situation.

The militia who took part in operations to stop the meeting did not resort to special means. Their efforts were aimed at preventing the worst if panic broke out or as the result of a possible act of provocation. After all, there were children there too! Numerous instances are known, and not only abroad, of mass gatherings of people for entirely innocuous reasons (sports matches or holidays) leading to casualties. And in the case under examination any incident among the crowd could have generated a chain reaction. Then all the verbal appeals of the militia and indeed of the meeting's participants themselves would have been futile. And if a calamity had occurred the victims would scarcely have thanked the authorities for the fact that not all steps were taken to prevent it.

As has already been noted in the findings of the commission and in the presidium resolution, the republic's prosecutor's office did not find any actions contradicting the law in the actions taken by the militia.

[Palchevskiy] You mentioned special means. So were there truncheons, gas, or troop subunits?

[Rosh] The commission investigated these elements particularly scrupulously. When the witnesses were questioned, some spoke of the use of truncheons. When we

asked them to be more specific about the facts—who had used the truncheons, who had been hit, and where the traces of the blows were—there turned out to have been no eyewitnesses. Only one of the participants in the 30 October events said that a militiaman had pushed her back with something like a stick. Indeed, we were subsequently unable to get from her any specific confirmation.

In general there were no militia equipped with special means in the zone of the meeting, although a subunit with these means was in the zone where the law and order forces were concentrated, in the region of Kalinovskiy Street. Vehicles with water cannon were also standing there. Of course, people walking to the cemetery could see them, but rumors and suggestions have a habit of growing with time into "reliable details." Now about the soldiers who were allegedly there. They were not there. There were workers from the apparatus of the city internal affairs administration and the MVD, who wore officer's uniforms of a military type and have nothing to do with the troops.

[Palchevskiy] What are these eyewitnesses' mentions of "people in civilian clothing?"

[Rosh] People's volunteer militia members were brought in to assist the militia.

[Palchevskiy] You have not mentioned gas, Nikolay Ivanovich....

[Rosh] I can only repeat myself, although a few details should be mentioned. Some of those with whom we talked asserted that they felt the effect of some kind of small aerosol containers. But no one gave a clear description of those using these containers or a sensible reply to the question of why they did not complain to the commission of experts or to the prosecutor's office.

In addition, apart from our commission, the commission of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and MVD was working in Minsk. It established that gas cylinders were not issued that day. Their presence was checked, as were all documents, and the cylinders were weighed on special scales. Not a single gram of gas had been spent.

[Palchevskiy] Did your findings coincide with what the Moscow commission had done?

[Rosh] Yes. As for the small note of distrust to be heard in your question, I shall say the following: Taking part in the work of the commission from Moscow were people from Minsk—deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets, authoritative people invested with great powers. So it is wrong to speak here of attempts to save "the honor of the uniform."

[Palchevskiy] Have any statements been made to you since the press publication of the commission's findings and the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the 30 October meeting in Minsk?

[Rosh] No. There have been no statements and no telephone calls.

[Palchevskiy] And about the publications which followed the official ones?

[Rosh] Also no.

[Palchevskiy] Recent articles about the meeting which never took place emphasize Kuropaty [recently publicized site of mass execution and burial of Stalin victims], now known throughout the country. What can you say on this subject?

[Rosh] The question actually has no direct bearing on the commission's work since Kuropaty was not mentioned in applications for the meeting's authorization. Its organizers planned to hold the events in the city. It was later that several hundred people went out onto the ring road where, incidentally, both speeches and poetry were to be heard....

As for our common anguish—the illegal repressions of the thirties and forties—as a member of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and a Communist I can say the following. It is necessary to restore in full the picture of the terrible tragedy of all the peoples of our country, including the Belorussian people, and to return their good name to all dishonored people. The commissions for the rehabilitation of innocent victims and primarily the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau commission are now engaged in doing just that. A specially created government commission is working on Kuropaty. The republic prosecutor's office has completed its investigation. As far as I know their findings and generalized materials will soon be handed to the republic's government for the final decisions to be made.

[Palchevskiy] And one last question, Nikolay Ivanovich. What conclusions for the future did you draw while taking part in the commission's work?

[Rosh] I think I should mention our proposals in this connection. They include the need for a calmer reaction on the part of local soviets when it is a case of new forms of the development of democracy and manifestations of public activeness. A maximum of democracy and glasnost is needed here. On the other hand the slogan "learn democracy" is also topical for many newly created public formations, and a balanced approach and objectivity are necessary for the mass media. Elemental forces are always destructive, however they are manifested—in natural cataclysms, people's actions, even words. It is very necessary for us to build now, not to destroy.

Report Cites Facts on Ukrainian Nationalists

PM1412155188 Moscow KOMOSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 88 p 2

[KOMOSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Propaganda Department report under the "Follow-Up" rubric: "People Who Are Trying To Vindicate the Banderites Have Short Memories"]

[Text] It is foolish to drive from Fastov to Kiev via...Zhmerinka. That route is ridiculous for a Ukrainian. Yet Vyacheslav Chernovol, editor of Lvov's samizdat "Ukrainian Herald," refutes a KOMOSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article via Paris' RUSSKAYA MYSL. But it is, of course, the personal affair of the person being criticized where he sends his rebuttal.

On 10 July this year our own correspondent V. Panov shared his impressions of a rally held near Lvov University at the Ivan Franko monument. The article "Good Old Makar's Stories" expressed surprise that some of our fellow citizens, including I. Makar, a young engineer from a Lvov research institute, have interpreted glasnost as an opportunity to speak without thinking over what you say. How else can one regard the call to put up monuments to the Banderites—as victims of Stalin's repressions—in every Ukrainian village? Or the call for street riots and strikes?

After accusing the journalist in an offhand manner of incomplete coverage of events at the rally, V. Chernovol staunchly takes the part of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, attributing its origins (we quote verbatim) to the "horrors of the terror under Stalin and Beriya." He claims that the Banderites were never in the service of German fascism and never took part in eliminating prisoners of war and the peaceful population. Ukrainian policemen were engaged in that. But he says that even Poles sympathize with, if not love the Banderites. They never insulted a single Jew.

At the editorial office we have familiarized ourselves with all the points of the Lvov rebuttal from Paris. We have studied the documents and polled eyewitnesses. This is what I would like to say: The article "Good Old Makar's Stories" indicates why the rally was held—to preserve historical monuments. It mentioned the constructive mood. You only have to read the article attentively.

We are not about to defend tyranny. Let's just cite the facts.

Let us recall with sadness the repressions of the prewar years in the Western Ukraine or the expulsion from the Comintern of the Communist Parties of Poland and the Ukraine—along with the komsomols.

It was the nationalist underground that considerably helped Beriya to maintain the atmosphere of a besieged fortress in the country. An atmosphere which in turn recruited more and more members to the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Yes, we know that there were many people in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists who sincerely wished their people well and whose heart bled for them. But we are not judging the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists by these people. For instance: To whom but their agents would the Hitlerites have given the right to hide in occupied Poland while waiting for Hitler's attack on our country? Who else would the fascists have allowed to create a "Provisional Regional Government" in Lvov, headed by Stetsko, that fervent nationalist and Bandera's comrade in arms?

Stetsko read out a declaration signed by Bandera proclaiming independent power 30 June 1941 in Lvov: "The new Ukrainian state will cooperate closely with Great National Socialist Germany, which, under the leadership of its commander Adolf Hitler, will create a new order in Europe." Eloquent?..

Yes, it's true that the fascists later broke up the puppet government. But this was the anger of a master directed at a serf who has overstepped the mark. Agent Stetsko's autobiography has been found in archives belonging to Rosenberg, Nazi minister for the eastern occupied territories, in which the former writes: "I uphold the stance of eliminating the Jews and the advisability of transferring to the Ukraine the German methods of exterminating the Jews." The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' program document "The Struggle and Activity of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalists in Wartime" explains Mr Stetsko's frankness: "During a period of chaos and oppression you can allow yourself to eliminate undesirable Polish, Muscovite, and Jewish elements. The assimilation of the Jews is precluded. Our power must be fearsome." Is this a "reaction to the horrors of the terror under Stalin and Beriya"? Did the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists have their own independent fascist program?

Yu.A. Shulmeyster, a Lvov writer and member of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, spent decades investigating fascist crimes and told us the following. Right after the Red Army's retreat from the village of Nizhniye Stanivtsy, Chernovitskiy Oblast, Nikolay Vyshivan, leader of the local Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, shouted the battle cry to his troops: "Anyone who is true to an independent Ukraine—kill the Jews!" On that day dozens of families perished at the hands of the nationalists. Thus, to use Chernovol's words, who "...is trying to sow enmity between us and the Jews?" A tactical ruse. For instance Bogdan Goryn, Chernovol's confederate, appeared at the

constituent session of the Shalom Aleichem Society of Friends of the Jewish Language and Culture that was set up recently in Lvov and delivered a fiery speech supporting him.

We also approve the creation of this society. But it turns out that Ivan Makar, whom Chernovol and Goryn consider to be their confederate, said outright at the rally: "Yes, I want to erect a monument to the Banderites." It turns out that this monument is to commemorate the same Banderites who held an "action" in Lvov in September 1941 to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Petlyura, when several thousand Jews were annihilated.

Chernovol is endeavoring to tie an intricate knot for the ill-informed Parisians. Supposedly, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is one thing and the Ukrainian police that stood guard over and destroyed the Jewish ghettos quite another.

But this does not tie up. In the city of Peremyshlyany, Lvov Oblast, the same Yu.A. Shulmeyster met Vladimir Nerepakha, a former policeman and participant in the destruction of 5,000 Jews in the Peremyshlyany ghetto, who spent many years in jail. Nerepakha told how his service in the "Ukrainian police" and that of his "colleagues" ended. At the end of March 1944 German gendarmes and police suddenly disappeared and the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists suddenly came out of the woods. All the Ukrainian police, bespattered from head to foot with the blood of innocent victims, went into the woods and joined the so-called Ukrainian insurgent army—the military wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. This happened virtually everywhere and virtually on the same day.

Few facts? Well, Chernovol could ask his foreign friends to dig up the documents of the third Grand Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists Council held in 1942 which adopted a decision to prepare to transfer the "Ukrainian police" to the Ukrainian insurgent army. (It was already clear that their masters' "blitzkrieg" was not working).

That's the picture. What can you do with the truth that you yourself proclaim to champion, Vyacheslav Chernovol? Parisians may still believe your rebuttals but that is hardly the case in the Ukraine, in particular, in Lvov, where people still remember the "Nachtigall" fascist Banderite battalion.

Chernovol refutes us via Paris but he seeks sympathy in Warsaw. Let us recall that thousands of Poles were eliminated at Rowno and Wolyn by gangs belonging to Ivan Litvinchuk, a major functionary in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Whole Polish villages were massacred. Entire families were burned alive in their homes. Chernovol, obviously, believes that all these brutalities intensified the Poles' love of the Banderites.

However much Chernovol, Goryn, and company may try to proclaim themselves "activists in the Ukrainian national-democratic movement" with no ideological connection with the Banderites, objectively things look different. Ethnic elements are immensely overemphasized. A literally painful interest in questions of origin is evident. Demagogic blather about linguistic grievances and ethnic aggression against ethnic minorities in the Ukraine is given wide play. Every element dividing our peoples is sought out. Social demagoguery is moving full steam ahead. All this arises from the program of the group of "rights defenders" led by Chernovol.

Ukraine Insurgent Army Controversy Viewed

AU1412093888 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian on 27 November carries on page 3 the first of seven 2,500-word installments of a article by V. Davydenko, who is not further identified, entitled "Wolves Will Not Become Lambs," elucidating the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army "from the viewpoint of the present day." The other six installments, of the same length and under the same title, follow in the newspaper's issues of 29 and 30 November, 1, 2, 7 and 8 December. The item totals 17,500 words. The article opens with the following introduction published in a box and in boldface:

"In recent times, the attitude to the bourgeois nationalist gangs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR has become an issue at some public meetings and gatherings, and in the press in the republic. Some speakers and authors have pronounced themselves in favor of 'rehabilitating' these gangs, and even of... building monuments to the Bandera-ites [Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist leader] who 'fell in the struggle.' The proposal was made to completely reconsider whether we should regard the armed formations of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) as gangs, and to regard their activity as a 'national liberation movement' aimed against Stalinism and, moreover, against the well-known violations of the Leninist nationality policy in the Ukraine.

"At the same time, many authors and participants in public meetings, including some who remember the hard Bandera-ite times well, resolutely protested against what, in their opinion, was such an irresponsible attitude, strongly condemned the criminal, inhuman nature of the banditry, and recalled the sea of blood and tears shed in the land by the UPA bandits."

"These are two opinions, two attitudes to one and the same problem concerning our not too remote past," Davydenko opens. "And behind these attitudes there is, in our opinion, the most essential thing: The attitude to nationalism and internationalism, to the Leninist principles of unity and brotherhood among the nations and nationalities of the Land of the Soviets."

The author deplores the fact that, "in the years of stagnation," some historians and men of letters tended to "pass over the issue of the uncompromising class struggle in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, and of the intense armed duel with the gangs." He deplores in particular the fact that they "disregarded such issues as the Communist Party's leadership in this struggle, the participation of some units of the Soviet Army, frontier guards, and internal troops in eliminating the gangs, the interconnection between the struggle against Banderaism and the collectivisation of agriculture in the land, the deportation [vyselennya] of the families of the bandits and their accomplices, and so forth. All this gave, and even now continues to give, grounds for various distortions and falsifications on the part of our ideological adversaries."

The author goes on to note the "present-day point of view" on the controversial issue, a point of view he accepts. The "UPA gangs" were "armed by the Hitlerites," he writes. "And they were obviously not formed for the 'struggle against Stalinism,' nor for the 'protection of the national interests' of the west Ukrainian population, as the nationalists claim so loudly today, but to accomplish concrete tasks, clearly defined by the fascist Abwehr and Sicherheitsdienst."

In the second 2,500-word installment of the article, published in the 29 November issue of the paper on page 4, V. Davydenko expands his thesis on the origin of the "gangs". He writes: "Evidence of the class character of the gangs and of their fascist origins was found even in the very makeup of the leading cadres of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), of the bandit-like groups, and of the Bandera-ite Security Service (SB)." According to the author, these cadres were recruited from among former officers, Abwehr operatives, sons of rich land owners, of the kulaks, and of the Uniate clergy. "At the same time," he adds, "the thesis that was fashionable until recently, namely, that the gangs at large were recruited from among 'hostile class elements,' 'criminals,' and so forth, is absolutely unacceptable. Things were much more complex. In the UPA formations, as well as among those assisting the gangs, particularly at the initial stage, there were quite a few peasants that had been misled by nationalist demagoguery or intimidated by the Bandera-ites. The cultural and educational level of quite a few people enrolled in the UPA was low; for years they had been educated in the clerical-nationalist spirit, and for this reason OUN propaganda found favorable ground among them. There were also people who bore a grudge against the Soviet authorities for violations of socialist legality in the field, for the groundless arrests or deportation of their families or close friends, and for the nationalization of the land and the means of production that belonged to the rich people and the clergy."

The activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the German occupiers are explained by V. Davydenko in the following way:

"In the bitter years of the occupation, some former prisoners of war who had previously belonged to encircled Soviet military units, fugitives from German concentration camps (as a matter of fact, there were not only Ukrainians among them), and quite a few local young men hiding from the total mobilization for hard labor, having given credence to the OUN-ites' declaration that they would fight the fascist oppressors for the liberation of the Ukraine, joined the gangs. They were precisely the ones who, contrary to the absolute prohibition declared by OUN - UPA leaders, attacked the smaller billeted quarters of the occupiers and individual Hitlerites who set foot in the zone of Bandera-ite activity. Such sporadic attacks, although they were spontaneous and limited in nature, infuriated the UPA leaders. And the latter did their best to curb the antifascist moods of their 'riflemen.'" Those people, the author adds, used the first opportunity to desert the "gangs" and to run over to partisan units.

"One of the 'blank spots' in the study of the war and the postwar history of west Ukrainian lands," the author continues, "lies, in our opinion, in the fact that for many years Soviet researchers, guided by instruction 'not to exaggerate' the political significance of the enemy's strength, for the most part used to show the UPA and other armed groups of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists as small, loose, and poorly organized gangs, without adequate military training and any centralized leadership. This is probably why some scientists find it so difficult to explain how nationalist gangs, under such conditions, managed to terrorize the population for more than 7 years and to inflict so much damage on the economy and the culture of the land."

V. Davydenko gives evidence that, on the contrary, the "gangs" were well-organized, trained, advised, and supplied by the German occupiers. "According to incomplete data," he writes, "the fascist delivered to gang leaders more than 700 mortars, nearly 10,000 heavy and light machine guns, 26,000 submachine guns, 22,000 pistols, 100,000 hand grenades, 80,000 mines and shells, and several million rounds of ammunition." According to the author, "in the fall of 1945 the numerical strength of the armed UPA groups totaled nearly 90,000."

In the third 2,500-word installment, published in the 30 November issue of RADYANSKA UKRAINA on page 4, V. Davydenko declares:

"The attempts of bourgeois nationalist leaders to humanize the UPA, to make it heroic, and to remove from it the brand of the Nazi swastika is to be explained by an aspiration to suit the 'human rights' slogans professed by some bourgeois politicians in the United States and other NATO countries, to assume a posture as great 'champions' of freedom and democracy, and on this basis obtain more active support for their subversive actions against our country. For this purpose, OUN adherents abroad have made appropriate preparation and, using money drawn from well-known funds, have

published hundreds of memoirs, monographs, and historical reviews. Quite a few of them have been published in English, French, German, and other languages.

"But all that is in vain. The black deeds of the Bandera-ites, the bloody footsteps they left in Ukrainian soil are self-evident," the author maintains.

Published in RADYANSKA UKRAINA on 1 December on page 3, the fourth 2,500-word installment of the article says that "contrary to the intellectually superficial assessments of some historians in the period of stagnation, the objective of the class enemy was to foil the socialist changes in the region, to drown the working people's aspirations for a new life in blood, and to destabilize the situation in the Soviet troops' hinterland."

"Under these conditions," the author continues, "the Soviet command was forced to withdraw several military units from the front. Deployed in localities and at railroad stations, they were used to protect the peaceful population, industrial and transport facilities, and communications."

And yet the "gangs" continued their activity. In 1946 they "burned and pillaged 35 clubs and libraries in Lvov Oblast alone." "According to incomplete data, the OUN hangmen killed 1,454 village soviet chairmen (in some villages, the Bandera-ites killed 3, 4, or even more village soviet chairmen), more than 30 kolkhoz chairmen and raykom secretaries, 32 rayispolkom chairmen and deputy chairmen, 37 obkom secretaries and rayon Komso-mol committee secretaries, and hundreds of oblast, city, and rayon soviet deputies."

The fifth, 2,500-word, installment of V. Davydenko's article is carried in the 2 December issue of the paper on page 3. It discusses the attitude to the "gangs" adopted by the Uniate Church and the CPSU. The "OUN gangs enjoyed wide support on the part of the Uniate clergy and of Metropolitan Count Andriy Sheptytskyi, personally," Davydenko writes. "Notwithstanding the patriotic position assumed by a significant number of Uniate priests, who condemned the banditry and the fratricidal struggle, quite a few churches, and monasteries in particular, were turned into real bandit dens. The gangs used the premises of monasteries, churches, and Uniate parish houses as hiding places and underground arms depots," and the Metropolitan was in constant touch with the UPA leader, Roman Shukhevych.

"The struggle against the nationalist banditry was inspired and organized by party organizations," the Davydenko says. "There are now probably very few people who know that, guided by the noble principles of humanitarianism, even during the war the republic's government and the Soviet authorities took steps to persuade the UPA leaders to stop the senseless fratricidal fighting, which was doomed, and at long last to create for the population the conditions necessary for peaceful life and

work. For this purpose representatives of the republic's government held talks with the command of the insurgent army." The meeting was held in the night from 28 February to 1 March 1945 at a farmstead near the village of Konyukhy, in Berezhanskiy Rayon. "The talks lasted 5 hours, but the Bandera-ite leaders refused to examine the manysided concrete proposals made by the republic's government." What they wanted, Davydenko says, was "to gain time in order to regroup their forces and change their tactical means and methods in the struggle against the Soviet state."

In the appeal addressed to the population of western oblasts of the Ukraine on 19 May 1945, the republic's party and state leadership gave the "members of Ukrainian-German nationalist gangs a final opportunity to repent before the people and to expiate their offenses with honest labor." In response to this appeal, V. Davydenko says, "by 1 June 1945, 40,385 bandits, deserters, and people living in the underground confessed their guilt."

The sixth, 2,500-word, installment, is published on 7 December on page 3. V. Davydenko states that neither the appeals of the Soviet authorities nor the defeat of "fascist Germany and imperialist Japan" put an end to the struggle: "A significant part of Bandera-ite gangs continued their black deeds." To reinforce internal troops, frontier guards, and regular army units, "the working people of western oblasts, following the party's call, actively joined in the struggle against the gangs," having formed "assault battalions" [vynyshchuvalni bataliony] and "self-defense groups" [hrupy samozakhystu]. "In June 1945," Davydenko says, "there were in the land already 300 assault battalions with 28,000 fighters, and 2,666 self-defense groups totaling 29,000 men drawn from among local peasants."

On the part of the authorities, the author also notes "substantial miscalculations and disorganization" that "gave the trump cards to nationalist propaganda" and thus "hindered socialist changes in the land," as well as prolonging the struggle and making it embittered. "Some party committees," he writes, "underestimated the local cadres and entrusted them with less important sectors of work, for the most part at village and rayon level." This was the case because, in the atmosphere of "mutual suspicion," "a gloom of political mistrust and bias weighed heavily on some local functionaries, including former members of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine." In the author's opinion, "this was the historical reality, and it must not be disregarded."

In the seventh and final 2,500-word installment, published in the 8 December issue on page 3, the author continues to portray the "political reality" and states that "the process of collectivisation in the West Ukrainian village was also intense." "In currently evaluating the entire multifaceted process of collectivization in the land," he writes, "one must not overlook the serious disturbances, deviations, and exaggerations" mostly

stemming from the "attempts to transfer to West Ukrainian lands the administrative command methods of collectivization applied in the republic's eastern oblasts late in the twenties and early in the thirties."

"The faulty, harmful methods of collectivization applied, at the orders of Stalin and his circle, in the Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and other republics," the article reads, "were sometimes transferred without consideration to the republic's western region." This transfer implied "administrative pressure, and serious deviations in the socialization of the land, cattle, and farm machines." There were also "excesses taken in the struggle against the kulaks."

"Collectivization and the struggle against the OUN banditry was closely linked with another issue which has recently been discussed and which has generated various rumors," Davydenko writes. "What I mean is the deportation of the families of rich peasants, bandits, and accomplices of the OUN - UPA gangs from western oblasts of the Ukraine to eastern regions of the country. The point is that, in the years of the personality cult and stagnation, these facts were persistently hushed up, and this gave nationalists abroad the opportunity to qualify them as another 'blank spot' in the republic's postwar history." The author sees no reason to "hush up the causes and circumstances of the deportations." He makes "the dramatic duel with the nationalist gangs" accountable for them, and reveals that "in accordance with archival materials, in the period from 1944 to 1951, 65,906 families totaling 203,662 persons were deported from these oblasts."

"Hatred for the OUN bandits on the part of the working people, the vigorous actions carried out by state organs and assault battalions, as well as dissent and quarrels generated by the criminal atmosphere and by mutual mistrust in the underground movement itself," in the author's opinion, "helped to further eradicate the banditry and to defeat the numerically strongest Bandera-ite groups." In addition, "The attempts by British and American intelligence services, which had taken control of the leaders of bourgeois-nationalist centers abroad in order to invigorate the anti-Soviet activity of remnant bandit groups, ended in failure."

In conclusion, the author says, "The Soviet people hold sacred the memory of those who offered their lives for the happiness and the very existence of the people, for the benefit of socialist changes in the republic's western oblasts. However, we also remember the horrible crimes perpetrated in our land by the fascist murderers and by their followers and foster children, the OUN-ites." As far as the latter are concerned, Davydenko adheres to the opinion that "nothing has changed either in their views or in their aims."

Medvedev Addresses Staff of Journal

PM1312142288 Moscow LITERATURNAYA
GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Editorial Office"]

[Text] A general meeting of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staffers was held on 12 December. It was opened by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board.

The meeting was addressed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He said:

You know that A.B. Chakovskiy has been released from his duties as chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, at his own request. He is going over to creative work.

The name and leadership of Aleksandr Borisovich are associated with more than one-fourth of a century of activity by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and the collective of staffers that create it. I wish to stress that the change in the newspaper's leadership comes not at a time when it is in decline, as sometimes happens, but on the contrary—at a time when the newspaper's role in our sociopolitical life is increasing markedly and its creative contribution to the formation of a new sociopolitical atmosphere in the country is deepening, as is indicated by an increase of almost 60 percent in the number of subscribers for next year, 1989.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has long since firmly won its place in our life as a platform for the discussion of the most urgent problems of Soviet life and international policy. Therefore it was natural and logical for it to join in the process of restructuring. And now LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is one of the most active participants in restructuring and is actively involved in sociopolitical processes, and from this point of view its role and the work of its editorial collegium merit a high appraisal. I think the newspaper's prestige in our society is higher than it has ever been.

This does not, of course, mean that everything is ideal, that there is no need to work harder at anything, no need to think about how better to help the leadership of the country and party to tackle the urgent problems of today. Without abandoning everything positive that has been achieved, and while continuing the line of formulating in a penetratingly critical and practical way the various questions of our life, it is necessary to move forward, along the path of the more fundamental and, if I may put it like that, professional examination of these questions. More debates, more different viewpoints on this or that problem! But at the same time one-sidedness, superficiality, and trenchancy as an end in itself cannot be

tolerated. One still sometimes encounters in your work a reluctance to listen to opponents or present different views. And, of course, there must be more emphasis on the quest for constructive solutions to the problems of restructuring. Here constructiveness does not, of course, mean departing from the critical analysis of reality—without that, no constructive decision could be proposed, formulated, or substantiated.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA raises many problems associated with the processes taking place in the sphere of literature, ideology, and culture in general. Here too, as in other spheres, today it is necessary to be immune to the factionalism that corrodes certain creative organizations, it is necessary to pursue a line of consolidation. There is no doubt that our literary forces can and should be united in a common creative process to help our restructuring.

Social and national consolidation is what we need today. In the light of the events of recent months it is becoming increasingly urgent. We have enormous potential here. That nationwide disaster and tragedy, the earthquake in Armenia, has shown how deep the international potential is, how profoundly it has entered into our social consciousness and the life of Soviet people. And it must be asserted more and more consistently.

Comrades! We all have deep respect for Aleksandr Borisovich Chakovskiy and value him for his literary talent, his sociopolitical stance, and his active role in our public life. Aleksandr Borisovich has devoted much effort and energy to the newspaper, working with you here in this post. I think our public will understand and evaluate this step of his correctly. I am sure Aleksandr Borisovich has not yet said his final word in literature or in sociopolitical life. His prestige is not only determined by his work on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, it is determined by a wider spectrum of activity. A.B. Chakovskiy remains a member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and fulfills a number of important public functions. I think we have every reason to express profound gratitude to him for his work on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and to wish him good health and new creative success.

I am convinced that our public will receive correctly the decision to appoint Comrade Yuriy Petrovich Voronov chief editor of the newspaper. There is no need to describe his work as a literary man, journalist, and public figure. His arrival at LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is a logical continuation of his life and creative career. We are sure he will continue to unite all creative forces on a sound, principled, restructuring footing and that he will work actively and purposefully in the newspaper's collective and receive full support from you.

The meeting was addressed by A.B. Chakovskiy, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.P. Izyumov, O.N. Prudkov, and L.I. Velikanova.

It was attended by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, and Yu.N. Verchenko, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board.

PRAVDA on Churbanov Trial Proceedings
PM1412123688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Court": "Statements of the Parties Begin"]

[Text] At the USSR Supreme Court on 12-13 December the oral statements of the parties took place in the criminal case against former senior staffers of the MVD accused of large-scale bribe-taking and the use of their official position for selfish purposes. The case is being examined by the military collegium of the USSR under the chairmanship of Major General of Justice M.A. Marov, member of the USSR Supreme Court and deputy chairman of the military collegium.

The first to speak was the state prosecutor A.V. Sbojev, assistant USSR general prosecutor.

On the basis of an analysis of the evidence, the state prosecutor reconstructed the circumstances of the case, set forth his conclusions on the proof of the charge made and the degree of culpability of the accused, described the role of each of them individually, gave a political, moral, ethical, and legal assessment of their criminal actions, and submitted his proposals on punishment for discussion by the court.

Let us recall that the following former officials are in the dock: Churbanov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; Yakhyayev, Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs; Kakhramanov and Begelman, Uzbek SSR deputy ministers of internal affairs; Sabirov, chief of Khorezm Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; Dzhamalov, chief of Tashkent Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; Norbutayev, chief of Kashka-Darya Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; Makhamadzhonov, chief of Namagan Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; and Norov, chief of Bukhara Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration.

Defining bribe-taking, the state prosecutor says that whether given or received, a bribe, that vile instrument for depraving the consciousness, becomes simply monstrous when it affects workers on the law enforcement organs. It is hard to imagine anything more terrible than bargaining with the law. The accused are people who held a high position in the system of law enforcement organs and who were entrusted with the duty of combating injustice, embezzlement, deception of the state, and, of course, bribery in all its forms.

After analyzing all the episodes of the charge in the case relating to each of the accused, the state prosecutor highlighted and justified those that, in his view, have been adequately confirmed in court, and asked the court

to discuss the question of excluding from the charge those episodes that were imputed to the accused by the preliminary investigation organs but were not confirmed indisputably in the course of the judicial examination.

In particular, in the case of the accused Churbanov, the prosecutor requested that of the R680,000 imputed to him in bribes received, R275,000 be excluded from the charge as not having been confirmed in the course of the judicial investigation. Of the charge against Yakhyayev of receiving 89 bribes amounting to R146,000, the state prosecutor requested that 68 bribes amounting to R114,000 remain in the charge as proved.

The assistant general prosecutor requested amendments with regard to the sums of money imputed to the remaining accused in connection with the giving and receiving of bribes.

In light of what had been said and with regard to the total, the state prosecutor requested the following measures of punishment: for Churbanov and Yakhyayev—15 years' deprivation of liberty, to be served in a strict-regime corrective labor colony (with Churbanov to serve the first 5 years in prison); for Kakhramanov—13 years' deprivation of liberty; for Sabirov, Norbutayev, Makhmadzhanov, and Norov—10 years' deprivation of liberty; for Dzhamalov—7 years' deprivation of liberty; for Begelman—6 years' deprivation of liberty. All in strict-regime corrective labor colonies and all with confiscation of property.

The statements of the parties continue. After a short break the attorneys will take the floor in the court hearing.

Sakharov on Human Rights, Restructuring
PM1412081088 Paris LE MONDE in French
11-12 Dec p 3

[Sylvie Kauffmann report: "Andrey Sakharov's Hopes and Worries"]

[Text] It seemed as if the grace of human rights had fallen on Paris on Friday 9 December on the eve of the ceremonies to mark the 40th anniversary of the signing of the universal declaration. Scarcely had they left the plane which brought them from the United States than Academician Andrey Sakharov and Soviet writer Daniil Granin spoke at the Soviet Embassy and expressed their worries about the limits of glasnost and restructuring with remarkable frankness.

A few hours later, in the VIP lounge of Orly airport, Lech Walesa, accompanied by two of his most eminent advisers, told an audience of officials and journalists that he could "still" feel "the breath of Stalin," before expressing the hope that "the Europe from which I come will become part of a single Europe." That would have pleased Francois Mitterrand who will meet the two Nobel Peace Prize winners in France this weekend.

Flanked by several Soviet officials on the platform of the embassy's big hall, Mr Sakharov openly said what he wanted to say: That the imprisonment of dissident Sergey Grigoryants in Yerevan last month strikes him as a "flagrant violation of all democratic rights"; that "major progress" has been made in the human rights sphere in the USSR, but "less than had been hoped"; that, if it is to be able to host an international human rights conference in Moscow, the USSR must release "all prisoners of conscience, of whom there are many more than we know"; and that the West must not ease its pressure.

Restructuring has not yet become "irreversible," the physicist continued. Mr Sakharov regretted the fact that the political prisoners released over the past 2 years—more than 400 of them, according to Alexey Glukhov, who is responsible for "humanitarian questions" at the USSR Foreign Ministry—have not been rehabilitated. With regard to Mr Gorbachev, the great architect of the Soviet renewal, "he deserves our confidence." "He is an eminent, sincere, and outstanding politician. But, of course, some of his traits worry me," Mr Sakharov added, notably his "tendency to make undemocratic compromises and his aspiration to personal power. Those are my deep personal feelings; I have few contacts with him but I was able to observe him at the last Supreme Soviet session, for example."

A Meeting With Mr Walesa

Questioned on Mr Gorbachev's latest proposals in New York this week aimed at a unilateral reduction in Soviet forces, the academician said that it was "a step of colossal importance," and, in passing, he supported the Western estimate of more than 5 million men in the Soviet Armed Forces. But this should only be "a start," he said. And he called on Mr Gorbachev to reduce the length of military service, which is currently 2 years.

Then Daniil Granin, who seemed slightly bored, sitting in his leather jacket at the end of the platform, spoke: "There are the important and visible consequences of glasnost and restructuring," he said. "But the people are also very impatient and this shows the inadequacy of the measures taken. You are attending a press conference by academician Sakharov. But in our country his works and speeches are not published. Important events are taking place in Estonia, but in our press and on television there is very little talk about what is happening." "Some people have been forced into exile; they were the flower of our intelligentsia," the writer continued, citing an interminable list of names: Solzhenitsyn, Lyubimov, Maksimov, Sinyavskiy, Baryshnikov..... "That was an illegal action and none of our leaders are now contemplating restoring their citizenship. We must also talk about the things which have not been done in our country, about the things which hurt us."

Mr Sakharov, who was joined by Yelena Bonner on Friday evening, met with Mr Walesa for the first time at the place where they were staying. They were due to meet again on Saturday at the luncheon given by Mrs Mitterrand at the Hotel de Lassay, the residence of the National Assembly speaker, and in the afternoon when they had successive meetings with Mr Mitterrand; then at the Palais de Chaillot and finally at a dinner at the Elysee. The two men are very different but, according to the Solidarity leader, they share "the search for ways of ending the Stalinist model."

Mr Walesa, who was on good form and who seems to have been given a boost by his 30 November television debate with Alfred Miodowicz, leader of the official Polish trade unions, naturally said that he was very happy to return to France—the country in which he completed his last series of visits to the West in October 1981, 2 months before General Jaruzelski introduced martial law. Mr Walesa, who was welcomed by representatives from the Elysee, and the Quai d'Orsay, by Jean Kaspar representing the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, by Paul Marchelli representing the General Confederation of Managerial Personnel, and by Yannick Sembron representing the National Education Federation, said he has the impression that "something is starting to happen in Poland," and he was then swallowed up by a Renault 25 in an official convoy to avoid the Paris traffic jams and to start his first meetings with Solidarity's Polish friends in Paris and the French trade unionists—aside from the General Confederation of Labor, "which has abandoned us in our misfortune."

District Election Commissions Formed

LD1512131388 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT
15 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—The first stage of the election campaign—formation of district election commissions—has been in the main completed in the Soviet Union.

The election commissions will deal with preparations for and holding of elections of people's deputies of the USSR, which are to be held in the country on March 26, 1989 in accordance with the new law, passed early in December.

The new law ensures wider guarantees of democratism of the election system.

Formation of election commissions of public organizations is drawing to a close, along with district election commissions which organize elections by the territorial principle.

For the first time ever one third of the deputies will be elected to the supreme body of state power directly from the CPSU, trade unions, youth, women's, veteran associations, intellectual unions and other public organizations.

Election commissions of the Soviet Culture Fund, the unions of theatre workers, architects, film-makers and also the all-union music society have been formed, it was reported today.

Editorial Views Course of Party Elections

PM1412102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "New Experience Teaches Us To Get Rid of Meddling and Tutelage and Encourage Initiative and Responsibility"]

[Text] A broad range of issues is being discussed during the current report and election sessions in party organizations. Communists' interests and concerns are determined by their specific conditions and tasks, but there is one subject of equal concern to those participating in the meetings and conferences, wherever they are held. It is the need to radically change the style of work in the spirit of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference demands. It is primarily a question of strengthening the political nature of the activity of party committees and primary organizations, clearly separating their functions, and decisively eliminating the departmental approach and order-edict methods.

To act creatively, without meddling and tutelage, means, as experience shows, giving scope to initiative. At the beginning of the year, the Shushenskiy party raykom in Krasnoyarsk Kray abolished sectoral departments and sharply reduced the number of sessions and amount of paperwork, thereby concentrating its efforts on real work with people. The committee gave economic leaders total independence but, on the other hand, made greater demands with regard to end results. Primary party organizations and labor collective councils have become bolder in influencing the economy and everyday life in rural areas. The lease contract is becoming established at farms in the rayon and intensive labor collectives have appeared in the kray for the first time. All this, as Communists pointed out at the rayon party conference, is having an impact on the situation.

Instances of this kind are no longer a rarity and their very existence clearly shows how keenly people are responding to good changes by becoming actively involved in the common work. A remarkable sign of the times! It is particularly important when it is a question of developing major innovations that affect restructuring.

Take the lease system, for example. There are now sufficient weighty arguments in its favor. It fundamentally changes production relations and helps to more quickly squeeze out administrative-edict methods of management and strengthen people's sense of stewardship. In order to obtain this effect, however, much work must be done, and in this respect a great deal depends on Communists and party committees. Patient organizational and educational work and competent propaganda of experience and economic knowledge are needed.

There is something to be learned from Communists in the Moscow region. There the emphasis is placed on broadly involving specialists, scientists, and experienced soviet and party workers in the development of new forms of economic management. The party obkom has formed a special working group which is helping to organize economic accountability and the lease system, which is also the concern of the creative teams that visit the rayons. Many primary party organizations and hundreds of enthusiasts have thereby been involved in innovative work.

However, there are still many cases—they are cited at the meetings and conferences—where good initiatives are never allowed to bear fruit, although usually there is support for them from the rostrum and a resolution expressing approval. So what is the problem? The problem is that the primary organization or party committee is still operating in the old way: They give their approval and then wash their hands of the matter. They are not concerned whether they have persuaded people of the need for change or based their decisions on science and experience. So they cling to edict methods. If things do not go as planned, they put the pressure on, and if someone makes a slip, he must expect to have his knuckles rapped. This is just a step away from meddling and petty tutelage, as shown, for example, by the practice of the Dzhambul'skiy party raykom in Alma-Ata Oblast. In the opinion of delegates to the rayon party conference, its personnel, including the first secretary, preferred to give leaders official reprimands rather than seriously analyze the situation and were too fond of giving orders over the telephone, arrogating responsibility for matters within the competence of soviet and economic bodies. How can there be any initiative from below in these conditions?

Another extreme is also coming to light: Some party committees have appreciably reduced attention to problems of socioeconomic development in labor collectives and regions. The reason they give is that sectoral departments in the party apparatus are being abolished and without them, they say, they do not have enough people to deal with these problems. This kind of approach, according to participants in the meetings and conferences, is at variance with the 19th party conference decisions, which aim to increase party influence in all spheres. How to influence is another matter. The wisdom of political leadership, M.S. Gorbachev noted in his report to the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 29 November, consists in involving all social forces in active work.

What is needed is a creative search which helps people to get out of the old rut more quickly. Any committee or primary party organization that does not trouble itself with this kind of search is simply turning its back on difficult problems.

The possible consequences of this can be seen in the example of Moscow's Sergo Ordzhonikidze plant, one of the pace-setters in Soviet machine tool building. The

plant had the reputation of being a leader in the sector but at a sharp turning point—the transition to new economic management conditions—came up against serious difficulties. It had to intensify economic work but the management embarked on the slippery slope of overreporting and unsubstantiated wage increases. In the end, the enterprise found itself on the brink of bankruptcy. What about the party committee? It and its secretary, who no longer holds that post, looked on from the sidelines and refused to support Communists suggesting a difficult but realistic solution.

Mastering the political approach means not only approving the party line but being able to put it into practice. There are now increasing opportunities for party organs to do this. Eliminating trivial concerns, conference mania, and petty tutelage, they are concentrating their efforts on key tasks. Firm support from the elected aktiv makes it possible to gain a deeper, fuller insight into real life and exert a stronger influence on it. After all, the best, most energetic and competent supporters of restructuring are being nominated to the committees—this is ensured by broad glasnost during elections. If we can ensure that every elected representative plays a part in real work without fail and is not, as in the past, an indifferent assessor or supernumerary, this will be a reliable guarantee of success.

Exactly the same can be said of primary party organizations. Committees count on a sharp increase in these organizations' initiative and responsibility when deciding their strategy and tactics—whether it is a question of implementing radical economic reform and political transformations or improving organizational and ideological work in collectives. This means that first and foremost we must everywhere create an atmosphere in which every Communist becomes an organizer and champion of restructuring.

Surely the renewal of cadre policy increases the potential of party committees and primary organizations? Practice provides a number of examples of how openness, glasnost, and competition in the selection and nomination of people are having a healthy effect on matters and on the work style itself. Conversely, wherever people still cling to the formal questionnaire-based, hugger-mugger approach and set store by the "strength" of the ossified nomenklatura, no rapid change should be expected. Edict methods and commitment to stereotyped ideas usually exist undisturbed alongside these outmoded attributes of the stagnation period.

Demanding that this style be abandoned without regret, during the report and election sessions Communists are putting forward real proposals aimed at renewal. It is the paramount concern of every committee to give maximum consideration to them in cadre work and in the restructuring of the whole style of party leadership.

Academician Interviewed on Constitutional Reform
PM1412093888 Rome LA REPUBBLICA
in Italian 11-12 Nov 88 p 14

[Interview with Academician Yevgeniy Ambartsumov by Fiammetta Cucurnia; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Moscow—The USSR is discussing its future Constitution. Though temporarily overshadowed by the earthquake tragedy, the tension and clashes between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the Caucasus and the politico-nationalist protests in the Baltic lands still worry the Kremlin and complicate the political maneuver which Gorbachev is carrying out.

Understandably, therefore, the Soviet intelligentsia are currently working to interpret down to the last detail the "political" significance of the changes to the USSR Constitution and the new electoral law introduced by the USSR Supreme Soviet in late November. Indeed within them "there lies concealed the key to interpreting the Kremlin's intentions and the instruments with which it has decided to equip itself to deal with the new, difficult situation."

This is what we were told by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, the well-known political scientist, historian, and sociologist, who is well acquainted with the environment in which the new CPSU leadership group grew up, since he is himself part of it.

[Cucurnia] Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, what is your overall assessment of the new USSR Constitution?

[Ambartsumov] I believe that despite the hornet's nest of controversies created by the Estonian Government and several other republican parliaments, it constitutes an indisputable step forward for our country. Above all for the first time the USSR has a permanent parliament elected from lists comprising multiple candidates. This is the basis of parliamentarianism, even though elections will be indirect. I also consider the strengthening of the president's position very important. Under present conditions in the Soviet Union an immediate transition to genuine parliamentary democracy is impossible, and I believe that a period of "enlightened authoritarianism," so to speak, is inevitable.

[Cucurnia] So in your opinion do the most important changes concern the new institutional framework with which the USSR is equipping itself rather than the aspect of relations between the center and the periphery?

[Ambartsumov] No. I would point out that the unifying thread of the changes lies precisely in the extension of the republics' rights with respect to Moscow. Furthermore this is the most substantial result of the political activism and democratic debate that occurred in the outlying parliaments, especially in the Baltic and Georgia, on the eve of the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

[Cucurnia] What specific examples can you give?

[Ambartsumov] Under pressure from the first secretary of the Georgian Party, changes were made to the rule that allowed the Congress of People's Deputies to declare a state of emergency and war in the republics without consulting the organs of local power. Now "consultation" becomes obligatory as a constitutional requirement. Furthermore, to meet the Estonians' demands, which were not completely accommodated, it was decided that each republic is entitled to determine the tasks of its own congress entirely independently. Not only that, but Gorbachev personally insisted on the approval of a resolution stating that a series of laws must be introduced "soon" to ensure a substantial extension of republican rights in the cultural and socioeconomic fields.

[Cucurnia] Do you not consider this somewhat inadequate in view of local expectations and demands?

[Ambartsumov] Of course the changes cannot be considered definitive and ideal. Gorbachev has made it clear, however, that there will be further changes on the basis of new requirements. Basically, in other words, from now on the USSR Constitution is not a fixed, but a constantly evolving, document.

[Cucurnia] However, Gorbachev has also strongly defended the proposal to elect one-third of the congress from the so-called "social organizations" throughout the Soviet Union. On the one hand this rule entitles some citizens to vote several times in the same election and on the other it rules out representation at the congress for "republican" organizations such as the Popular Fronts.

[Ambartsumov] I do not much like this rule either because it ultimately favors bureaucratic bodies. However, I believe that Gorbachev could not omit to take account of these structures, already well rooted within society, whereas new social organizations, such as the Popular Fronts, are only now emerging in the country's political life.

[Cucurnia] One final thing: What was the impact on the new Constitution of the nationalist protest now sweeping the USSR?

[Ambartsumov] I would like to draw a distinction between the political battle in the Baltic area and the bloodthirsty clashes in the Caucasus. In the former case—though I too disagree with the essence of the Estonian demands, which would lead to the union's disintegration—I do, however, consider entirely natural the process of democratic criticism under way in Tallinn, even at the parliamentary level.

The Caucasus is another matter. I am profoundly convinced that the CPSU leaders were too indecisive, and now the only way is to use force. Karabakh should have

been granted to Armenia. Now the Constitution—Article 119, Section 14—envisages that in special cases central government will place certain areas of the country under its own jurisdiction. This could apply to the issue of the Armenian Karabakh.

State Management of Public Groups Viewed
LD1412143788 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[KAZTAG-bylined article entitled: "The Awakened Initiative Must Be Politically Mature and Creative" under the general heading: "In the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] An enlarged Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau meeting has been held in which obkom secretaries in charge of ideological matters, oblistpolkom deputy chairmen, secretaries of the Alma-Ata party gorkom and raykom, the heads of a number of republican ministries and departments, the heads of the unions of creative workers, the heads and secretaries of primary party organizations from higher educational establishments in the capital, and representatives of the mass information media all participated. Examined at the meeting was the question "of the work of the republican party organizations with amateur public groups in light of the requirements of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference." [passage omitted]

An initiative group for the creation of the so-called "Alma-Ata Popular Front" has held two meetings in the Scientists' House—practically in everybody's full view. It has not even occurred to its administration to find out whether or not the permission envisaged by law for holding such meetings was obtained. In the meantime, having gathered one or two dozen accidental participants, the initiators of this enterprise announced in a loud voice nothing less than the formation of the longed-for organization. [passage omitted]

The assertions by the initiators of the creation in our republic of groups of the counterrevolutionary "Democratic Union" are even more extremist. This union aspires to the role of some kind of opposition to the CPSU. It does not make a secret of its final task; which is to change the existing political system in the country. With a view to achieving this goal, they declare their readiness "to push society toward a crisis situation," "to create hotbeds of conflict," to organize mass disorder, and they are trying by all possible means to include Kazakhstan in their sphere of influence. Attempts to set up branches of the "Democratic Union" already have been made in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, and Uralsk.

The formations of the so-called "All-Union Sociopolitical Club" are close in spirit to the "Democratic Union." "The Political Discussion Club" at the House of Culture of the "Khimik" enterprise in Kustanay is, for instance, its branch. Distributed at its meetings are

malevolent samizdat documents that crudely and unceremoniously defame soviet reality. Ways of organizing of mass civic-disobedience activities and other unconstitutional activities are planned there. The strange thing about it is that all this is taking place literally under the very noses of the gorkom and the raykom, which categorically declare that the state of affairs in the oblast center is normal.

Here is a detail of no small importance: the tendencies of extremist moods are trying by fair means or foul, to raise their prestige and to trample the positive trends in amateur public activity. In this, first priority is given to the ideological brainwashing of organizations that already have done good deeds and shown initiative. Thus, several days ago in Alma-Ata a group of people hostile to the idea of real restructuring tried to change the direction of a working meeting of representatives of the "Alma-ata Green front" groups, which discussing the establishment of business contacts between ecologists from public and the gorispokom. The actively offensive position of the officials who took part in the meeting and the principled attitude of its amateur organizers permitted the decisive repulsion of the uninvited guests.

The fact that amateur groups with nationalist tendencies have started to form is an alarming symptom. In Dzhambul, in particular, B.A. Daukenov, a serviceman and CPSU member, has worked out a program for the "Atameken" (fatherland) society and sent it to a number of persons, calling them to take part in a congress dedicated to the creation of this organization. The purpose is to unite Kazakhs on the grounds of their isolation from other peoples of the USSR, primarily in the language and cultural spheres. This, as is known, is a direct way toward national limitedness and the gradual intellectual degeneration of the people.

The list of public groupings of various tendencies but with the same negative coloring which have appeared in the republic recently does not end with that. Among them there are mystics and adherents to various religious trends. Quite often, behind the screen of allegedly innocent pursuits are hidden connections that are far from inoffensive. In Tselinograd, a group of the intelligentsia of a chauvinistic cast of mind, which has established connections with the notorious "memory" organization, holds meetings under the pretext of studying a health system developed by one Koltunov, a Moscow resident.

The number of teenage amateur groups advocating the cult of force and violence is growing. In fact, they have united on the basis of violations of public order. They exist in Alma-ata, Dzhezkazgan, and Tselinograd Oblasts. So far, only militia organs have been dealing with these hooligan groups, and the party, soviet, and Komsomol organs have remained aloof from them. The social portraits of the leaders, initiators, and organizers of the various unions of extremist tendencies are curious. The frame is formed by representatives of the scientific, creative, engineering, and technical intelligentsia. A

close examination shows that they are mainly people who have, for various reasons, failed to succeed in life, to achieve acknowledgement, a sense of the satisfaction of their enhanced ambitions. They include quite a few workers in higher educational establishments, a fact which should, perhaps, become a subject of special attention on the part of the republics ministry of education, and the heads and party organization of higher educational establishments. For instance, N.F. Fedoseyeva, head of the Kusatanay "Political Discussion Club" and lecturer in the philosophy department of the local pedagogical institute, frequently and regularly travels throughout the country and takes part in all kinds of illegal and semilegal gatherings. The question is: Whose money is being spent, and how does she find the time for it? Look, lecturers have their leave once a year.

A certain L.M. Sherova, junior scientific worker of the Philosophy and Law Institute of the republic's Academy of Sciences, is chairman of the "People's Front" Coordination Council in Alma-Ata and the emissary of the corresponding Moscow organization. Her unhealthy mood and hooligan escapades are well known in the institute. Nevertheless, the administration found it possible to issue L.M. Sherova with a reference for entering a graduate course in Moscow. She has completed the studies, true, but she has not defended her thesis. Well, how could she have become a candidate of sciences if she was devoting the bulk of the lecture time to the "Moscow Popular Front?"

People alien to our ideology have appeared in the mass information media. For instance, S.V. Duvanov and Ye. V. Sheyger, employees of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Television and Radio, have become members of the "Alma-Ata People's front" Coordination Council, and L.M. Kuznetsova has become an active member of it. There also are sympathisers here. A logical question arises: Where is the watchfulness of the state committee management? How has it allowed politically immature and irresponsible persons access to such a powerful channel for the formation of public opinion as television and radio? [passage omitted]

*Government Commission Publishes Crime Figures

Goskomstat 'More Open'

WA18000194 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 44 2 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] We have already written in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA about USSR Goskomstat has become far more open. Here is another piece of evidence: statistics on the courts have been published. Many of these figures were not given in percentages ("so many and so many percentage points less"), but in the simplest arithmetic.

Here are some of them.

In 1987, there were 115,100 persons convicted of stealing state property or public property. Far fewer than in previous years: 166,700 in 1986 and 192,100 in 1985.

The number of persons convicted of stealing personal property was 123,400 (in 1986, it was 161,300 and in 1985, 178,200). But in 1987 there were a few more persons convicted of premeditated murder than in 1986 (9,900 as compared to 9,800), and almost 4,000 more than in 1985 (12,600).

There has been an increase in the number of crimes related to home distilling—6,100 (the figure was 5,400 in 1986 and 2,000 in 1985). The number of crimes related to narcotics has dropped off from 1986 and amounted to 26,800 (the previous figure was 33,600).

In 1987, there were far fewer persons convicted of rowdiness—94,500, while in 1986 there were 133,900 and in 1985 there were 161,100.

Trends in Crime 1985-87

WA18000194 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 46, 12-18 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] The USSR Goskomstat reports some figures on antisocial phenomena:

Number of Court Verdicts That Have Become Final (by types of crime, in thousands)

	1985	1986	1987
Theft of state or public property	192.1	166.7	115.1
Theft of personal property	178.2	161.3	123.4
Premeditated murder	12.6	9.8	9.9
Rowdiness	161.1	133.9	94.5
Home distilling for the purpose of selling homemade alcoholic beverages	2.0	5.4	6.1
Violations of traffic regulations resulting in serious consequences	29.4	26.5	21.9
Narcotic-related crimes	25.6	33.6	26.8

In 1987, there was a drop in the number of convictions. Within that decrease there were fewer people who committed crimes while intoxicated. There was a drop in the number of serious violent crimes against persons and the number of persons convicted of rowdiness.

Law enforcement agencies are stepping up their effort to prevent offenses, but that effort is not always being made purposefully, and the community and the population are still not extensively enough involved in the process of crime prevention.

Crime Trend Over the Period 1985-1987

	1985	Relative to the Previous Year, in percentage (+/-) ¹ 1986	1987
Total number of crimes	+2.7	-4.6	-9.5
Serious crimes	-6.6	-15.5	-14.6
Murders	-8.7	-20.7	-1.2
Serious bodily injury	-13.5	-24.3	-2.9
Rape	-10.0	-4.7	-9.5
Assault and robbery	-8.0	-25.3	-0.3
Theft	-11.7	-25.6	+2.1
Theft of state and public property	+2.0	-22.3	-10.2
Theft of personal property	+7.7	-13.1	+1.9
Rowdiness	-5.5	-14.7	-19.6

1. + = increase; - = decrease.

Economic

KOMMUNIST Editor on Costs of Reform
PM1312162788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with O.R. Latsis, deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, by own correspondent K. Segura under the rubric "Our Interviews": "Unemployment Is Too High a Price to Pay... a Well-known Soviet Writer on Current Affairs Believes"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction; place, date not given]

[Text] Japan is a relatively remote country for us in all respects—political, social, economic, and geographical—but it is a country which has achieved tremendous successes in its development in recent years, forcing both the United States and West Europe to "give ground." So it is not without interest to acquaint ourselves with the views held on the state of our economic science by specialists from the Land of the Rising Sun and their assessment of the situation in this sphere. In an interview with our correspondent, Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, gives an account of a meeting between Soviet and Japanese economists and of his views on certain economic problems.

[Latsis] The Soviet-Japanese economic symposium is a rather specialist event, not of a mass character, but one which has a good and long tradition. For more than 30 years now economic experts have met alternately in Moscow and Tokyo to discuss problems which interest them. I have taken part in three such symposiums and have been able to observe in their dynamics the changing

attitude of the Japanese toward our country, and its economic science in particular. I first met the Japanese experts in 1985. Restructuring was only just getting off the ground in our country, and even the term itself was not yet being widely used. I must say that the attitude to us at that time was highly skeptical—as regards our science, and especially the state of our economy. There was a lot of talk about our obsolete structures, about the colossal material inputs in our industry—in short, everything that we ourselves are saying now and that fully corresponds to reality. The tone of these statements indicated that the Japanese did not believe in our ability to change anything.

We discussed various theoretical problems and spoke about restructuring in the economy. The Japanese claimed that a major restructuring entailed unemployment and demanded a sharp turn toward market relations. These and other factors would mean all kinds of social upheavals incompatible with our principles. Much was said about the need to introduce major changes in the administrative sphere.

Three years have elapsed. Naturally, the Japanese opinion of the current state of our economy has not changed. For that there simply are no grounds. We ourselves have said that the situation in the economy is alarming, that we will come up against serious difficulties in the near future, difficulties ensuing above all from the state budget deficit and the resulting inflationary processes, the imbalance of the internal market, and other problems. In short, from everything that is causing serious and legitimate dissatisfaction in the mass of people and that is completely incompatible with the aims of restructuring. These problems were not created today: They are a direct consequence of the shortcomings of our past

development, but they have surfaced precisely now. Hence the paradox—we are working harder, as it were, but our life has deteriorated, especially if we judge it by what is available in the stores. We are talking about it openly and writing about it both in our journal and in other publications. This frankness and the sober view that is being taken of the prevailing situation are greatly appreciated abroad. They have had a positive impact on the atmosphere of both the Soviet-Japanese symposium and other meetings with foreign partners.

In 1985 the discussion centered mainly on the European socialist countries—Hungary, Poland, the GDR, and the CSSR. The Japanese showed little interest in the Soviet Union. At the latest meeting the situation was radically changed. The eyes of its participants were focused precisely on our country. Naturally, we had to listen to a lot of criticism, but the tone was respectful, and the criticism was not an aim in itself but was based on an objective thirst for knowledge, a desire to understand what has changed. Furthermore, on this occasion it was not just university professors who showed interest in our statements but also businessmen and representatives of the press—which clearly reflects the constantly growing interest in the Soviet Union and its economic potential.

[Segura] Otto Rudolfovich, judging by what you have said, at all the three symposiums you have attended, Soviet and Japanese experts were involved in polemics about the role of unemployment in the restructuring process. We are able to picture relatively clearly the social consequences of such a phenomenon as unemployment, but we would nonetheless like to hear the viewpoint of an economist on this question.

[Latsis] As you know, there are incentives of a purely economic nature to achieve higher labor productivity. One of them is higher pay. However, practice has revealed that this incentive is frequently insufficient. First, there is a certain category of people who know perfectly well that it is possible to obtain much more money, for instance, by exploiting shortages, or even through outright theft, rather than by working harder. That is, putting it crudely, if your wages are R150, God knows how hard you would have to work to earn R300. But it is possible to steal R1,000. This applies in many vitally important spheres where there are shortages of goods and services. Not just in trade and the consumer service sphere. Even medicine features among these spheres. After all, people are prepared to pay almost anything in order to live and be healthy. Doctors have few opportunities to earn more through working harder. There are exceptions, of course—Fedorov's clinic, for instance—but these are isolated instances. The majority of doctors have virtually no opportunity to better their wages through working harder.

Then, as a result of the fact that a certain minimum standard of welfare is nonetheless assured in our country—no one is likely to starve to death, everyone, in principle, has some clothes and a roof over their heads

(what kind of clothes and what kind of roof is another matter)—there is a certain category of people, and a relatively large category at that, who put not having to make an effort first and foremost. In many cases these are women whose wages do not determine the prosperity of the family. They choose their jobs on the basis of whether the atmosphere at their place of work is pleasant and whether it enables them to take time out for the family and children. A vast number of these women are ensconced in various scientific institutions. But sometimes this even applies to "breadwinners." The minimum is assured: Why make an effort?

In short, for many categories of people an incentive such as the opportunity to earn more is insufficient. It is also necessary to ensure higher job appreciation. Hence, people frequently arrive at the conclusion that unemployment is necessary. This viewpoint exists not only in the capitalist world. It is current also among certain Soviet economists and sociologists alongside the mass emotional reaction to the sorry state of our economy. This is true especially if you take a closer look at how some comrades employed in our trade network are working. Sometimes a little unemployment seems very desirable! However, on the other hand, because there has been no real unemployment in our society since 1931, our view of this phenomenon is highly speculative. We know that people in the West draw unemployment benefits. We calculate its purchasing power on the basis of an arbitrarily chosen selection of goods without taking into account the structure of prices or the structure of expenses. On the basis of such calculations it is possible to prove that an unemployed person in America lives better than a Soviet professor. Therefore we continue to view a certain amount of unemployment through rose-tinted glasses, imagining that it is all we need to ensure that all is well!

In reality there is a price to pay for everything. Unemployment is too high a price to pay, both economically and morally, a price which, in my view, no society should have to pay. But at the same time we must ensure that people value their jobs more, that management does not have to go down on its knees in front of a drunkard because there is no one else to do the job. But unemployment is not necessary to achieve this. What is necessary is an approximate balance between manpower supply and demand. It is necessary to ensure that there is neither a great shortage nor a great surplus of manpower. People must know that if they work badly they may be fired, that if the whole enterprise performs badly and goes bankrupt, it will be closed down. Of course, people will be offered new jobs, but they may not be as good as the previous ones. They may be less well paid, with worse working conditions, and possibly in a different city or even a different field.

There are capitalist countries with so-called "short-term unemployment" which really is not unemployment as such. When the number of people out of work does not exceed 2-3 percent, then the time to find a new job, as a

rule, does not exceed 2-6 weeks. If our statisticians deemed it necessary to add up and describe as unemployed the people who spend some time out of work when changing jobs, then, I believe, they would also arrive at 1-2 percent.

However, where real unemployment exists, there is a reserve army maintained by the government in order to have an advantageous position when dealing with hired labor. Naturally, this does not apply to poor and backward countries where the resources to create additional jobs are lacking. As for developed capitalist countries, they have unemployment because they want it.

In our economy in particular there are many ways to raise the value of jobs without having recourse to such a grim, and as I have already mentioned, expensive—for any society—phenomenon as unemployment. Given our scale and sectoral diversity, there is always a possibility of geographical displacements—a labor force surplus in one area and a shortage in another area. New construction projects are constantly being started up, new territories are being developed. There is also the possibility of “fine tuning,” so to speak—millions of people who have a second job, working pensioners, students. Their number can always be decreased or increased. In short, given good, efficient organization, job appreciation can and must be raised without resorting to extreme measures.

[Segura] The economist's view of the unemployment problem is very interesting, of course. But for many reasons this social phenomenon does not yet threaten our society. The reform of retail prices is a more real problem, one which is on the agenda and which concerns each of us. Incidentally, one publication raised the idea that the leading economists have not been involved in validating this reform...

[Latsis] The actual draft reform of retail prices has not been published. The USSR State Committee for Prices is still working on it and is going to discuss it within the department before submitting it to nationwide discussion. But if the State Committee for Prices is planning to hold that discussion in 1 month it will be of no use. Even in 6 months' time this problem will not be easy to understand. Despite the furious debates on the raising of prices that have been held in the press and on television the actual draft has still not been discussed. The debate has been about the presumed arguments of its opponents. This is like shadow boxing. Each one puts forward the arbitrary arguments he wants to rebut and then triumphantly does so. There is no real discussion here. Neither a purely scientific one, nor an amateur one. So when the draft does appear it will take quite a lot of time to discuss it comprehensively. The population will not accept a parody of a discussion. They want to get to the bottom of this question.

The lack of adequate information is another problem. This complaint must be leveled at the USSR State Committee for Statistics. People are judging the reform

on the basis of an arbitrary, personal, random, and very often misinterpreted account of the real situation in consumption. And consequently they do not understand who will benefit from increasing prices. There is a belief that it is the low-paid sections of the population that benefit first and foremost from the existing price structure. Even though the unpublished figures which the State Committee for Statistics has in its possession and which are well known to a narrow range of specialists show the opposite—the present price structure is more advantageous to highly paid workers and a review to compensate for that would be in the interests of the low paid. The bias that exists on that score plays the crucial role in prejudicing the people against the reform.

[Segura] You mentioned compensation. But there is an opinion that the population will not use the money thus obtained to buy food.

[Latsis] That is precisely one example of those arbitrary arguments. Why do you think that the compensation should be directed toward food? Its aim is to ensure the observance of social justice. How the money is used is a matter for each individual. The real task is to change the structure of demand.

Under a normal price structure demand should be regulated by economic means. If we do not regulate our economy by the old feudal methods we must try economic methods. Prices must be prices, wages must be wages. At the moment, however, the majority, judging from responses to my articles, do not agree to normal prices. But what is the point of a price at which there is nothing to buy? A price is the amount at which a product can be bought, it is the value expressing balance between supply and demand. The fact that we currently have an unduly low price for meat does not increase the supply of meat, it merely disorganizes the distribution of it. The same thing is happening with apartments.

By changing the price structure we will establish the economic regulation of demand, not regulation by coupons. Having received an extra sum of money in the form of compensation the customer can spend it on whatever he likes, including meat. But that isn't the problem. There will be a reallocation of demand among different sections of the population and different commodity groups. Other demands will appear. I believe that there must be equal compensation for everyone, expressed in rubles—not in percentages of wages or pensions—and an equal compensation based on the average consumer. Take meat, for example, where our calculation is based on the existing level of 64 kg per person a year. In that case a man with average consumption and average wages will stay where he is—he will not gain but he will not lose either. The “poor” man will gain because he as a rule consumes less than the average norm. He will receive compensation for 64 kg but he actually used to consume less and therefore will gain more from compensation than he loses from the rise in prices. The “wealthy” man, who consumes more than

the average norm, will lose out. The social justice here is obvious. The economic advantage for the normalization of the market is also obvious. It is far easier to increase the quantity of industrial goods and that can be done more quickly. We can build a motor plant in Yelabug in a few years and vehicle production will double. It will take about 20 years to double meat production, however. In addition, the import of industrial goods is far more beneficial than the import of foodstuffs. It is one thing to buy foreign tape recorders, which we get for a song and sell here for easy money, but it is quite a different matter to buy grain, feed animals with it, and sell the meat at subsidized prices. The budget effect is almost negative.

Market equilibrium must be the goal of the restructuring of the retail price structure. Because our homegrown trade mafias, trade disruption, and speculation are all the result of imbalance. We have no enemy in the social sphere more evil than market imbalance. Millions of small tradesmen are getting rich from their power over goods. And that power exists as long as there is a shortage. What power can there be over goods that are lying on the shelves? They will beg us: "Please come and buy!" Whereas at present we are begging them to sell to us. With a market imbalance there isn't even any need to steal. You only have to call up and say: "Vasya, there will be a delivery of laundry detergent today!" And that's all! Incidentally, political power also depends on market imbalance. A rayon trade chief's power is greater than that of a raykom secretary. In brief, the evil is rooted in market imbalance and must be eradicated.

Of course, it cannot be claimed that full equilibrium will be achieved after the price structure is changed. The market situation is difficult. Scarcity is not only structural in character now. Other major measures are needed, too. However, structural change is inevitable.

It must be said that this experiment is not new. The raising of prices and the simultaneous raising of wages was tried in Hungary 12 years ago and market equilibrium has been maintained there. People respond by pointing to their difficulties. But you cannot put all economic processes down to one partial decision. The Hungarians are using a particular method to achieve a particular goal: They chose the concept of the price of equilibrium and they have market equilibrium. Their difficulties are due to mistakes in other spheres as well as the fact that theirs is a small country poor in raw materials. But sometimes I find myself thinking—we should be so lucky as to have their problems. They harvest 50 quintals of grain per hectare, we can only dream of harvesting 20. The Hungarians produce around 160 kg of meat per person. Our figure is 64 kg. It is even more interesting to look at the dynamics of growth. There you will see that in the mid-sixties the grain crop yield in Hungary was 20 quintals, now it is 50. The corresponding figures in our country are 10 and 16. Despite the fact that we have the Chernozem lands and the proportion of capital investments in agriculture in

their country has fallen from 18 percent to 12 percent while in our country it has risen from 12 percent to 27 percent. There is a lesson to be learned there.

[Segura] Otto Rudolfovich, why do we always choose to study the experience of the socialist countries? Perhaps we ought to look at the developed capitalist countries, such as Japan, for example?

[Latsis] Them, too. As long as people understand the most important thing—which is that everyone has to work like the Japanese....

Gosbank Chairman Interviewed on Money Surplus
PM1412110788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with N.V. Garetovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank, by correspondent V. Romanyuk under the rubric "Reform of the Economy Is the Foundation of Restructuring": "The Bank Is Not a Miserly Knight, But Nor is it a 'Social Security Department' for Distributing the State Coffers"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Romanyuk] It is customary to believe that, in our economy, of all resources money is the easiest to obtain. Will money now become a "scarce" commodity inasmuch as credits will be issued on a commercial basis?

[Garetovskiy] Bank credits often used to go to cover losses and prolonged financial breakdowns and even simply thriftlessness.

[Romanyuk] The bank had essentially become a "social security department...."

[Garetovskiy] Absolutely correct. And this led to unforgivable wastefulness. Often credits were granted at minimal interest rates or completely free. For some of them we still cannot recover the debts. Thus, deferred credits for the agro-industrial complex total several tens of billions of rubles yet some farms, even if they have free monetary resources, do not even think of paying off their credits to the bank. Why should they? After all, for the majority of deferred credits there is no need to pay the bank anything—they are free!

We are trying to rectify the situation. The so-called payment credit [platezhnyy kredit] which was frequently issued without any material collateral has been repealed. This money—in the order of R14 billion—has been taken out of enterprises' circulation. The process of removing other surplus credit funds is now under way. In 1989 work in this direction will be continued. We intend to step up the use of credit to influence the reduction of surplus material stocks and to eliminate all kinds of unproductive expenses and losses. Obviously we will have to resort to increased interest rates for individual types of credit. Demands on enterprises working at a loss will increase in particular.

[Romanyuk] But will money become "scarcer" as a result?

[Garetovskiy] We are setting this goal. The loan fund is being released from circulation. But the country even now is feeling no shortage of money inasmuch as the process of removing surplus money from circulation is not always accompanied by a toughening of the procedure for obtaining money. Sectorial normatives for deducting profit for the use of enterprises in many cases do not correspond to the potential for realizing this profit. Enterprises' economic incentive funds are increasing every year yet their residue cannot be fully exchanged for goods. All this gives rise to surplus money in the economy.

[Romanyuk] Lenin had the following idea: "If we succeed in stabilizing the ruble for a long period and then forever—that will mean we have won..." But in recent years, as many scientists admit, the Soviet economy has been developing under conditions of mounting inflation.

[Garetovskiy] Inflation processes do of course complicate the implementation of a radical reform of economic management. But we have not gone that far—there is no need to dramatize the situation. The statement of Lenin's you quoted dates back to fall 1922, when life had shown the connection between the tasks of the New Economic Policy and the need for the country's financial normalization. In a certain sense it is possible to draw an analogy between the present situation and the situation that took shape in the initial period of the implementation of the New Economic Policy. For a long time a generally simple truth was consigned to oblivion: You must live within your means. Even now not everyone has yet understood it.

[Romanyuk] Nikolay Viktorovich, do you not have the impression that many people have grown completely unaccustomed to living within their means?

[Garetovskiy] The possibility of living comfortably at the state's expense without making any particular effort has corrupted many economic managers. How else to explain their habit of spending more than they earn? After all no one is going bust, however strange that may seem. But all of us together become poorer as a result.

Adherence to inefficient forms of managing the economy, forms based, by their very nature, on expenditure, has dealt a grave blow to the ruble's stability. Let's add to this the well-known blunders in structural, investment, and social policy. The rule cannot be stabilized with the aid of any miraculous means, for instance by producing new money like the chervonets. The ruble is strong when the economy's effectiveness is increased and the national economy's balance is ensured. A firm ruble is above all a strong economy.

[Romanyuk] But in the meantime investors are increasingly worried by the devaluation of money (according to some assessments by 3-5 percent a year). Is it possible at least to control inflation?

[Garetovskiy] Inflation is a social evil in any case. But if we choose the lesser of two evils, so to speak, then of course it is preferable to switch inflation to the dimensions of a process which is proceeding openly. Society thus receives the opportunity to gain a clear idea of the magnitude of money's devaluation and to prepare measures in good time to combat this evil. Inflation is dangerous in that initially it may bring apparent benefit because a certain emission revenue stands behind it. But that is only for a while. Sooner or later inflation can get out of control and the devaluation of money begins to surpass the size of the emission.

The existing surplus of payment funds accumulated in our country over a long period and it cannot be eliminated by a one-off removal of these funds from circulation. Controlling inflation means above all erecting reliable barriers on the path of the payment of unearned money and the financing of unproductive expenditures and of loss making. As for safeguarding money savings, the payment of interest on current and short-term investments can serve as some protection here. But only as long as the money devaluation pace does not outstrip the size of this interest.

Radical solutions must be sought. And as an intermediate measure it would be expedient, in our view, to publish a cost of living index.

[Romanyuk] Not all readers have a clear idea of what that is. In the West the assessment is made on the basis of a "shopping basket"—a specific selection of items a family needs every day.

[Garetovskiy] In principle the cost of living index should provide objective information on the ruble's purchasing power and serve as a guideline for protecting the population's monetary incomes against devaluation. I can say that preliminary work to calculate such an index is already being performed by employees of the USSR Gosbank credit and finance scientific research institute of banks. Not the last word here belongs to the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

[Romanyuk] Various suggestions for the strengthening of our ruble are appearing in the press. What is your attitude toward them?

[Garetovskiy] This work has begun on the scale of the entire economy. Various viewpoints, including highly contentious ones, are being voiced on ways of resolving the problem. I shall dwell on one of them. Incidentally, it was made public in IZVESTIYA. A group of economists has suggested introducing into cash-free circulation, alongside existing money, new, so-called "real" money or "reform money." The authors' idea is that the money

earned by retail trade from the sale of goods to the population could become this money. It should be entered into the special accounts of retail trade suppliers and move from them to other links in the economy—all along the chain. This money would be given priority in the sense that it could be used to freely buy the necessary production means without limits and funds—through wholesale trade. The gradual transfer of "real" money from the consumption sphere to the production sphere would allegedly make it possible gradually to push "easy" money out of circulation.

I think that those who share this suggestion are making "an honest mistake," as lawyers say. If it were that simple to cut the knots that have formed, we would embark on this path enthusiastically. But the point is that the money from retail trade reaches the producer not after the sale of goods to the population but after the trading enterprises have settled their accounts for the articles provided. Some of these articles may be unsold or sold after being reduced in price. Thus the money transferred to suppliers by trade is not equal to the money it receives from the population. In addition, the strict separation of ordinary and special money is impossible given the unity of money turnover. For instance, if when the time comes for some payment (to suppliers, for wages, to the budget, or to the banks) there turns out not to be enough money in the enterprises' ordinary accounts, then money from special accounts will go into circulation. In other words, you cannot have "good" money while the state of enterprises' work is unsatisfactory and there is a shortage of goods.

Nor are there justified prerequisites for drawing an analogy between "real" money and the chervonets. The 1922-1924 money reform was carried out on the basis of vigorous efforts to eliminate the budget deficit, the rapid animation of economic turnover, and the buildup of the physical volume of the country's food and commodity stocks. Here the chervonets was introduced into circulation in strict accordance with the requirements of commodity circulation. The forcing out of devalued Soviet paper bank notes did not take place automatically, simply by replacing them with a new monetary unit.

[Romanyuk] But today? IZVESTIYA's editorial mail contains many statements about how the deficiencies in our economy are covered with the aid of a "printing machine." How do matters really stand?

[Garetovskiy] The emission of money is a natural process conditioned by the requirements of the developing national economy. All countries use emission as an instrument of monetary and credit regulation. It is another matter that it is necessary to restrict the emission of money connected with the normal requirements of economic turnover and to restrict the surplus emission of means of payment which could lead to the devaluation of the ruble and is the reason for the disproportions which have formed in the development of the national economy, especially in the period of the

buildup of its growth rates. Thus inflationary phenomena are a process involving many factors whereby the devaluation of money is connected with the appearance of a number of negative phenomena in the economy. When elements of an inflationary situation and a budgetary deficit appear in society, the question of the reason for it always arises: whether it lies in the circulation of too much money or whether it is simply that there is a shortage of goods. As of today factors responsible for the disruption of balance lie both on the side of money and of goods.

[Romanyuk] People are perturbed by the lack of money in their own pockets....

[Garetovskiy] Yes, unfortunately few people are perturbed by the surplus of money in circulation. To this day the oversimplified idea of money as a national economic resource has not been overcome in our country. Everyone understands that you cannot consume more oil, steel, or bread than you produce. But for some reason it is believed that there can be no drying up of money. It is as though money were equated with a "free force." Hence the persistent desire of many soviet, party, and economic leaders to "pressure" the banks and to extract, on any plausible pretext, as much financial resources as possible for their own enterprises, organizations, and regions.

[Romanyuk] Is it not for that reason that it is impossible to realize one of the main requirements of the economic reform, that every ruble paid out should have been earned?

[Garetovskiy] Unfortunately there are still many channels for the payment of excessive wages. For instance, take enterprises working according to the second model of economic accountability [khozraschet]. They form a wages fund in "real" money. The size of this fund is directly dependent on economically accountable income. But here is what the USSR Gosbank revealed when studying the first experience of the formation and spending of the wages fund at enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry. It turned out that in individual enterprises the wages fund was being increased counter to the plan by eroding the cheap range, by producing goods with a price supplement over and above the plan, and by using the right of a monopoly producer when setting contract prices for the goods they produce. At the same time these enterprises failed to fulfill their contract commitments for deliveries!

The prevailing situation is aggravated by the fact that the exceeding of the planned level of wages is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in production volumes and the sale of consumer goods and paid services to the population. And as a result of these interconnected processes there is the nonfulfillment of cash plans in a number of regions of the country and delays in calculating working people's wages.

[Romanyuk] What hopes do we have the right to pin on the issue of shares?

[Garetovskiy] The issue of shares is the real intensification of democratic principles in management and the development of people's initiative. An enterprise's workers now have the opportunity to actually show themselves to be the true owners at their production facility. The necessary economic and legal conditions are being created for this. A USSR Council of Ministers resolution recently adopted on the issue of securities makes it possible to enlist more extensively the free assets both of one's own workers and of the workers of other enterprises and organizations. These assets will be used to finance expenses not covered by the enterprise's own resources. Enterprises will be able to use the services of USSR banks to distribute, store, and resell shares, on a commission basis, of course.

[Romanyuk] Rumors of the alleged monetary reform which is being proposed continue to circulate in society. Are there any grounds for these rumors?

[Garetovskiy] Rumors remain rumors. There are no economic grounds for carrying out a monetary reform. Such a reform is an expensive measure, an extremely painful process not only for the population and it is permissible to embark on it only under conditions where monetary turnover is in disarray. And we do not have that in our country. The ruble's purchasing power has indeed declined and comprehensive measures are now being taken to strengthen it. This complex problem in all its diversity cannot be resolved by a monetary reform. The main thing remains closing the channels through which surplus means of payment enter the economy, increasing the country's commodity stock and especially its food stock, and spending all monetary resources economically. That is what leads to the strengthening of the ruble's purchasing power.

[Romanyuk] Economists also see another path for strengthening the ruble—its convertibility. Can we create the conditions today for enterprises to purchase currency freely from the state or to obtain currency credits paid for with rubles earned on the domestic market—at a freely established exchange rate?

[Garetovskiy] Of course, it is important to create conditions for the free exchange of foreign currencies into rubles and vice versa. However, an echo of an obsolete approach can be heard in this matter. For some reason an enterprise must buy foreign currency and take foreign currency loans "from the state." But the point is actually to create an economic mechanism whereby credit relations are implemented between equal and equally interested partners—economically accountable state or cooperative enterprises (including banking enterprises). The trade in foreign currency between them could correspondingly be expanded as all other types of business relations develop. Here it is important to create a currency market and a market for the means of production.

And that requires economic, legal, and organizational prerequisites which would give Soviet enterprises the opportunity to buy and sell foreign currency freely. That involves saturating our domestic market with the necessary goods to ensure the balance between the commodity supply and the money supply, strengthening the supply of goods to back the Soviet ruble [tovarnoye napolneniye sovetского rublya], and switching from a centralized system of material and technical supply to wholesale trade. Convertibility presupposes the establishment of an economically substantiated exchange rate for the ruble and the comparability of our domestic prices and world prices.

The introduction of convertibility is a lengthy process. Its initial stage encompasses measures to introduce the ruble's so-called "domestic convertibility," that is to ensure for Soviet enterprises the opportunity for the free mutual exchange of the rubles and foreign currency in their possession under economically advantageous conditions. Enterprises anxious to acquire foreign currency would buy it in exchange for rubles from enterprises selling currency. The purchasers of currency would be those anxious to increase their currency resources while the sellers would be those with a need for additional ruble funds.

Regular currency auctions, during which supply and demand for currency would be balanced and a special domestic-market exchange rate for the ruble and foreign currencies would be used, could be a specific form of organizing currency trading. I think that economically accountable banks, having gained the opportunity to acquire currency at such organs, will be able to supply it on loan to their customers on mutually advantageous terms.

The convertibility of the ruble on the international plane should be the second stage. But this problem will be resolved within the overall system of measures for the economy's financial normalization.

Military

Moiseyev Replaces Akhromeyev as Chief of Staff
PM1412163588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Colonel General M.A. Moiseyev Is Chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR First Deputy Defense Minister"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has appointed Colonel General Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev was born in 1939 into a worker's family. He has been in the Soviet Army since 1958. He graduated from the M.V. Frunze Military Academy in 1972 and from the General Staff Military

Academy in 1982. He has been a regimental, divisional, and army commander and a district chief of staff. Since January 1987 he has been commander of the Far East Military District. He is a deputy in the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies.

Chronicle

The USSR Council of Ministers has appointed Colonel General Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev has been relieved of the duties of chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister in connection with a transfer to other work.

'Manpower Crisis' May Be Behind Troop Cuts
PM1512104688 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 15 Dec 88 p 10

[Robert Fox article: "Armies Need Recruits As 'Baby Boom' Ends"]

[Excerpts] President Gorbachev's decision to cut Soviet forces, announced last week at the UN, appears to have been driven by the same manpower crisis that faces nearly all the Nato allies.

It is likely to shape the tactical thinking in both Nato and the Warsaw Pact, and the course of arms negotiations for a decade to come, according to leading military analysts.

"Such a move was virtually sure to come," said Mr Michael Orr, an analyst at the Centre for Soviet Studies at Sandhurst, "given the drop in available conscripts from the Russian (ie non-Asiatic) population."

He also said the Soviet army faced the general shortage of skilled manpower shared by the economy as a whole, particularly as reflected in the dropping standards in the NCO corps.

The decision to cut half a million troops in Europe and Asia, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 aircraft may have been driven as much by demographic necessity as diplomatic boldness.

The quality of the manpower and equipment in the Gorbachev package is still open to question, but the Soviet leader has stolen a diplomatic and tactical advantage by the timing of his announcement, say analysts. [passage omitted]

The main crisis for Soviet deployment and recruiting lies in the ethnic diversity of the Soviet Union. The potential pool for recruits from the Russian and Slav communities has reduced by 25 per cent over the last 10 years.

According to Mr Orr this has meant that up to 90 per cent of all available Russian male teenagers have been liable to call-up with exemptions only for the medically unfit and priority job categories such as student surgeons.

Mr Orr detects increasing concern about draft dodging, by the space now being given to the topic in the army's paper Red Star.

University students have been writing to Izvestiya complaining that call-up can set back their studies by years, and they still have to devote a day a week to reserve training.

While the Russian population has been falling, that of the Asiatic ethnic groups has been exploding.

The last official census was in 1979, but it is now estimated the proportion of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union has gone up from 18 per cent to 37 per cent since 1979.

This produces an added dilemma, as all main units have to be racially mixed according to Soviet military doctrine. This produces serious language difficulties and varying educational standards and abilities to handle modern technology, says Mr Orr. [passage omitted]